

AFRICAN STUDIES

(Formerly Bantu Studies)

VOLUME 5. No. 4; DECEMBER 1946

SOME LEGAL ASPECTS OF LAND TENURE IN NIGERIA

By N. T. BROOKE

The conflict of English law and Native custom in Nigeria can be illustrated from various branches of the law. Land tenure provides a good example because English and customary tenures have been found to be incompatible, particularly in Lagos and in the colony itself (as distinct from the protectorate).

It was for years thought that tenure under customary law was being superseded, but cases and investigations have more recently shown that this is not so, that most of the land is in actual fact held under Native law; and that land which has been acquired under an absolute title may on an intestacy revert to customary tenure unless in the circumstances of the particular case English law is held to apply. (*Caulcrick v. Harding* 7 N.L.R. 48).

Litigation frequently affords examples of the unsuitability of the Native system of family ownership of land to modern conditions in Lagos where a few members of the family may still be living and the remainder so scattered that it would be difficult if not impossible to obtain their consent to an alienation.

In the Protectorate further afield customary tenure suits the conditions in which the community live, but modifications permitting sale of land have crept in and whereas the Mohammedan Courts formerly refused to recognise any attempt at alienation, it is now condoned in thickly populated areas. In Native reservations in the North, in which there is a statutory tenure and which

have been recently placed under the Native Authority, special problems may arise.

Lagos as a mercantile and administrative centre is in the process of transition from customary to European tenures. The tribal system shows signs of giving way to one of landlord and tenant and absolute titles have long been granted which the Courts have recognised.

The annual Report on the Social and Economic Progress of Nigeria tells us that in the Colony and certain other parts of Nigeria a system of freehold has developed. In the remainder of the Southern Provinces communal tenure of land has gradually matured into family rights, though in certain areas the community reasserts itself from time to time. The alienation of such land to non-natives is now restricted to leases of ninety-nine years granted with Government approval under the Native Lands Acquisition Ordinance. Absolute ownership of land by non-Natives was recognised in the past but cannot now be obtained. Mortgages by Natives of leasehold property are permitted in certain towns but those by non-natives are only permissible with the approval of the Government. Under the Crown Lands Ordinance the Governor may grant leases of Crown Land for any term and licences for its temporary occupation, but he may not sell Crown Land without the prior consent of the Secretary of State. There is not very much Crown Land—the greater part of it has been acquired by Government for public purposes.

In the Northern Provinces all land is vested in

the Crown in trust for the people. The ordinary Native holds from the community the land on which he lives and that on which he farms. He cannot dispose of it without the consent of the community. No non-Native may occupy land without the Governor's consent which is conveyed by a certificate of occupancy and no transaction in land so held is valid without the Governor's approval. The term of a right of occupancy for a non-Native is limited and there is provision for the issue of temporary rights.

The tenure of land is regulated by the Land and Native Rights Ordinance (Cap. 85) which sets out in the preamble that the existing customary rights of natives to use and enjoy the land and natural fruits thereof in sufficient quantity to enable them to provide for the sustenance of themselves and their families should be assured, protected and preserved; that existing Native customs with regard to the use and occupation of land should as far as possible be preserved; that the rights and obligations in regard to the whole of the lands within the boundaries of the Northern Provinces and the rights and obligations of cultivators or other persons claiming to have an interest in such lands should be defined by law.

The whole of the lands of the Northern Provinces, whether occupied or unoccupied, were declared to be Native lands with a proviso as to the rights of the Crown and Niger Company over certain lands; all Native lands and all rights over them were declared to be under the control and subject to the disposition of the Governor and should be held and administered for the use and common benefit of the Natives; and no title to the occupation and use of any such lands should be valid without the consent of the Governor, who in the exercise of his power with respect to any land shall have regard to Native laws and customs existing in the district in which such land is situated. He has power to grant rights of occupancy to Natives and non-Natives which may not be alienated without the consent of the Governor, the devolution of the rights of an occupier upon death is regulated in the case of a Native by the Native custom existing in the locality in which land is situated and in the case of non-Natives by

English law governing the devolution of a lease for a term of years.

In the case of the devolution or transfer of rights over land to which English law applies, no deed or will shall operate to create any proprietary right over land except that of a plain transfer of the whole of the rights of occupation over the whole of the land.

The Native Lands Acquisition Ordinance (Cap. 89) on the other hand regulates the acquisition of land by aliens (any person who is not a Native of Nigeria) from Natives in the Southern Provinces. No alien can acquire any interest in or over any lands in the Southern Provinces from Natives except under an instrument. It is unlawful for any alien or person claiming under him to occupy any land belonging to a Native unless the right of the alien to occupy or authorise the occupation of land is evidenced by an instrument which has received the approval of the Governor in writing or was acquired before 1900 or is authorised under any Ordinance.

Throughout the whole of Nigeria the idea of communal ownership of land obtains, but some communities have advanced to a state in which exclusively communal ownership has ceased to be applicable in certain cases to local conditions. In the Northern Provinces according to customary law no private estate could exist and all land was the property of the community. Land was granted to individuals for their use and enjoyment and the grant could for good reason be revoked. There was nothing in the nature of freehold as understood in England.

Each community had rights of distribution among its members carried out by the head of it acting in concert with a council of elders. The right of user passed to the eldest son but was subject to the approval of the original grantors. There was no power of alienation.

In the Southern Provinces Native lands are not at the disposal and under the control of the Governor in the same way as in the Northern Provinces, but lands may not be leased to a non-Native except without the consent of the Governor.

The only freehold properties in the strict sense are those in the Colony of Lagos and the free-

holds vested in the Niger Company by statute when their charter was revoked. The titles are mainly based on Crown Grants and in deducing a title the rules of English law apply. Outside the Colony absolute ownership by non-Natives has in some cases in the past been recognised by Government but in general the only title that Government recognises in a non-Native is a leasehold title.

Under section 7 of Public Lands Acquisition Ordinance (Cap. 88) where lands acquired for public purposes are the property of a Native community, the recognised head chief of such community may sell and convey the same for an estate in fee simple notwithstanding any Native law or custom to the contrary.

Suits relating to ownership of land held under Native tenure are usually placed within the exclusive original jurisdiction of the Native Court unless some reason to the contrary is shown, but declarations of title are, owing to the complexities of land tenure, the subject of a large number of claims in the Supreme Court. It is not in all cases ownership but a right of occupation which it is intended to claim by Native law and custom under an overlord. Inconsistencies occur in that plaintiffs seek a declaration that he and his family were "owners in fee simple" of the land in question which forms part of the family land of X. "Fee simple is a concept purely of English law and family land is a creature purely of Native law and custom." (*Oloto v. John* 8 W.A.C.A. 127).

Where the defendant's family held various properties in Lagos town under oral grants made to them by an ancestor some seventy years ago and these grants were made for the purpose of resettling on the land the family who, as political refugees, had been obliged to flee the country but had subsequently made their peace with their conquerors and returned, the question was what title the chief conferred on the grantees. Some six or seven years after the oral grants had been made, i.e. about 1866, the Government issued crown grants to all holders under these oral grants. In 1930 the Privy Council held that these grants were grants in trust for the members of each grantee's family. The plaintiff acquired one of

the parcels of land the subject of these grants. He acquired it by purchase from a third party who had himself purchased it from a member of the defendant's family, with the acquiescence of that family. The plaintiff contended that he had acquired the fee simple by purchase. The Divisional Court found against the plaintiff and held that he had not acquired an estate in fee simple. On appeal it was held by a majority of the Full Court, Kingdom, C.J., dissenting, that the plaintiff had acquired an estate in fee simple. The Privy Council, however, held that as there was no consent by the Chief and his family as a whole to the transfer, an absolute fee simple title in the property did not pass. (*Oshodi v. Balogun* (1936) 2 All E.R. 1632). The term fee simple is sometimes used as the equivalent in Nigeria of absolute ownership.

Between Natives there was no such thing as an absolute transfer of land, whether by sale or gift, according to Native law and custom and only the usufruct passed; the transferee had only a right to occupy or licence to use the land (*G.C.* 1893). Customary law recognised no private property and sales were forbidden. "A Native title recognised by statute involves only use and occupation. If the alienation of family land was effected without the consent of the head of the family and the purchaser knew of it the Courts could set the sale aside.

The sale of family land without the consent of those members of the family whose consent is necessary, is invalid and it is the purchaser's duty to inquire. In an action for ejectment where there was alienation without consent, it was only voidable and the re-opening of it at the instance of the family must be timely so that the purchaser may be restored to his former position. (*Aganran v. Oku* 1 N.L.R. 66 and *Marks v. Bonso* 3 W.A.C.A. 62).

There is no power to dispose of family land without the consent of the principal members (*Adebufu v. Mekanjuola* W.A.C.A. 1944) whose duty it is to preserve the property for its successors. The right to put strangers on the land or collect rents is a well known right of absolute

owner (but not of tenant) under Native law and custom. Buying and selling of land so that the original owner loses all interest is foreign to Native ideas but land was allotted subject to recognition of title and for purposes of trade and cultivation, but ideas of individual ownership began to intrude.

Individuals are only permitted to sell land they have purchased or been granted absolutely by either his own or another family. Individuals may not sell any part of their family property without the consent of all the members. Family land has never been allowed to be transferred without the consent of all the leading members. Proposed sales or transfers of family land should be scrutinised in order to safeguard the family against loss by an unauthorised act of one or more of its members. This is better than relying on interpleader actions after the transfer. Proposed sales or transfers of family land should therefore be scrutinised in the interest of the purchaser and also in order to safeguard the family against loss by an unauthorised act of one or more of its members. (Ward Price: *Yoruba Land Tenure*). A grant of land for a consideration such as money might now convey an absolute title of ownership if members of family with rights over it intended to do so and the members whose consent was necessary had acquiesced in its alienation. A title so acquired, even by strangers, might be an absolute one and more recently title deeds made out in English form and registered where registration is in force speak of freehold. The words "possessing freehold title subject to family rights" (where this is applicable) may even occur. Courts have upheld title based on long and undisturbed occupation as an indefeasible one. Any reversionary interest in unallotted areas belongs to the chief as representing the family. Continuous possession and effective ownership without payment of rent and dues for seventy years have been held to give a valid title. (G.C. 1910). The Court will not apply strict Native law and custom and will not restore land to the original owner who has slept on his rights (G.C. 1912-1929). Reference has been made to *Awo v. Cookey Gam* 2 N.L.R. 100.

FAMILY PROPERTY

In *Bajulaiye & anor. v. Akapo* 1938, 14 N.L.R. 10 the trial Judge, who had had long experience in Lagos, said: "Now with all due respect to the opinion expressed by Speed, Acting C.J. in the case of *Lewis v. Bankole* 1 N.L.R. 83 to the effect that family ownership is a dying institution, I am bound to place on record my view that, notwithstanding the lapse of nearly a generation since that judgment was delivered, the institution of family ownership is still a very live force in Native tenure in Lagos. The purpose of the institution is, as its name implies, to provide a place where members of the family can reside if they so desire.

On the Gold Coast according to Native law there is a presumption in favour of all land being jointly held by a family or other community, which presumption may, however, be rebutted by evidence that it had been acquired by an individual through his own personal exertions in trade or otherwise, without any assistance from the community of whom he is a member, or by gift to the individual apart from the rest of the community. Absolute and exclusive ownership of land by one individual is still comparatively rare, although individual property will probably increase as time goes on, and European notions get a firmer hold of educated Natives. (Redwar, pp. 79 and 80 quoted in *Codjoe v. Kwatchey* 2 W.A.C.A. 378). Evidence adduced must be sufficient to rebut the strong presumption in favour of family property. Presumption with regard to land in this country is that it is family land. (Deane, C.J. 1929).

Litigation in the Supreme Court at Lagos has afforded examples of the unsuitability of the Native system of family ownership of land to conditions in a modern town. Suit No. 38 of 1943 affords perhaps one of the best examples of this. The land to which the action related was so owned, but very few of the family still lived in Lagos and the remainder were so divided and scattered that it made it extremely difficult, if not impossible, to ascertain of what individuals it consisted at the time. There had been twelve previous actions in the Supreme Court apart from several in the District (Magistrate's) Court, and the total costs involved from first to last far

exceeded the value of the land itself. The present parties had all been involved in this litigation at one stage or another. It was then found that the plaintiffs had not proved their authority to bring the present action on behalf of the family. It had been challenged in Court in previous cases by members of it, and there was no written authority or even an allegation that the first plaintiff had been appointed head of the family or authorised to bring the present action at any family meeting. All he could say was that he was the eldest member of the family, a statement in itself of doubtful truth. (*G. Alabi v. Layinka* Suit No. 38 of 1943, unreported).

Every member of the family, male and female, has an interest in the property and there is a family house which all members in theory can occupy, but in practice portions are allotted to members of the family (e.g. children of a certain wife) or let out to tenants. The Courts will decree a sale in particular circumstances where the family is too numerous to occupy and disputes arise. Where property is held as what is known as a family house, the rights of the members of a family with regard to it are (1) to reside in it (2) to have reasonable ingress and egress (3) to have a voice in its management and (4) to share in any surplus of income derived from it after necessary outgoings have been met. If these rights are infringed, they can come to the Court which will enforce them by partition or sale if necessary. It is always possible to claim an account for rents received by any member of the family, and allowance is made for any expenditure he met therefrom by way of rates and repairs (*Thomas v. Thomas*; Suit No. 149 of 1932; unreported).

Each member of the family is nothing more than a member of the community to which the property belongs. This is not a partnership but a corporation. No one has anything to dispose of as he likes, not even an undivided share. A deceased member leaves no separate estate in family property which could devolve on his heir. When a father dies there is no change of ownership and it remains vested as before in the community.

Family property can be alienated by way either

of sale or gift by heads of family (elder members) and if all heads concur, other members of family including children and unborn persons are bound by alienation. (G.C. 1890 and 1924).

The head of the family is the proper person to bring an action with respect to family property. The family is not liable for a debt of a member unless the family has undertaken to pay it (1869). A member of the family who encumbered family property without the consent of other members, forfeited his interest in it. But where the head of family incurred expenses in defending family land and sold land to defray expenses without notice to other members, the sale was held invalid. (G.C. 1896).

It has been held on the Gold Coast that a sale without consent is voidable, not void, and the family, having acquiesced in the transaction, could not impeach a sale and have it set aside after fourteen years and improvements had been effected to their knowledge. (G.C. 1878-1929 judgments). A claim to ownership may be bad after lapse of time (G.C. 1890). An innocent purchaser for value is entitled to the protection of the Court. (G.C. 1910). Where a member of a family holds himself out as owner and is allowed to do so by them, very satisfactory evidence is required to prove he is not sole owner. (G.C. 1900-1929).

There is a presumption with regard to family property that all earnings of members belong to the common fund. The manager is usually the eldest male and an account and/or receiver will be ordered by the Court. The mere using of a family site on which to build a house does not brand the house with the stamp of family property if it has been built by independent effort and without family building materials.

SOME CASES

Here are some Nigerian decisions with regard to family property.

1. The defendants attached certain real property under a writ of *Fi Fa* against the property of three of the children of the testator. The testator had devised that property to all his children to "remain and be retained as a family pro-

erty in accordance with Native law and custom." The plaintiff, a fourth child of the deceased, took proceedings claiming that the property be released from the attachment. It was held that the devise did not constitute the devisees "tenants in common" under English law and that the facts (1) that the testator had acquired the particular property under a conveyance in English form of the fee simple and (2) that he made a will in English form did not prevent the property in the devise becoming a "family property under Native law and custom" as effectively as if the children had succeeded to it on intestacy, and that the property must be released from the attachment. (*Jacobs v. Olandunni Bros.* 12 N.L.R. 1).

2. A testatrix in her will devised her undivided share in a family property and the plaintiff claimed that such devise was null and void. The defendants, the executors under the will, pleaded in bar of the claim that the plaintiff, who had accepted a benefit under the will, had thereby elected and therefore could not challenge the devise. The defendants pleaded further that the plaintiff who knew of the devise seven years before he issued this writ, was estopped by laches and acquiescence from attacking the devise. It was held that the doctrine of election did not apply to bar the plaintiff's claim for the reason that the plaintiff had not the power to dispose of the subject of the devise; that it was not laches or acquiescence for the plaintiff to take no steps to attack the devise so long as the devisee did no overt act based on the devise; and that the devise was null and void as the testatrix could not by will or otherwise dispose of her undivided share in a family property even where the devise was to her son. (*Taylor v. Williams & anor.* 12 N.L.R. 67).

3. The deceased belonged to the same family as the defendants, and the plaintiff was his widow legally married to him under the Marriage Ordinance. Some little time after the death of the deceased the family proceeded to a distribution of the family property. From the benefits of this distribution the plaintiff was excluded by the family. The plaintiff then brought an action against the family, claiming as the legally married wife of the deceased to take the share which would

have been his had he been alive. There were no children of the union. It was held that the deceased left behind him no separate estate in the family property which could devolve on his widow. (*Sogunro-Davies v. Sogunro* 9 N.L.R. 79).

There is an early case dealing with the law of family property which still pertains in Lagos. The headnote reads:—

"At the death of a founder of a family, the 'Dawodu' or eldest surviving son is the proper person by the present Native law of Lagos to succeed to the headship of the family; but on the death of the Dawodu the eldest surviving child of the founder, whether male or female, is next in succession. The different branches of the founder's family are represented *per stirpes* on the family council, each branch having one vote. Family property can be leased, though it cannot be sold by strict Native law, even if all the members consent. But the Court has power to order a sale, if deemed advantageous to the family, or if the property be incapable of partition, and *quaere* whether the strict Native law would still be upheld. All branches of the family have a right to be consulted before family property is leased or otherwise dealt with, and rents will be divided in equal shares between the respective branches, regard being had to property received by any of the founder's children during his lifetime. Grandchildren of the founder have no right to build in the family compound without the consent of the family council. Members of the family who do not reside on the family property have no general right of ingress and egress, but have a right of entry to attend family meetings, and, if members of the family council, a right of entry to inspect the state of repairs; such right must, however, be exercised so as not to interfere unnecessarily with the quiet enjoyment of the occupants."

This was the important case of *Lewis v. Bankole* 1 N.L.R. 81 and the learned trial Judge remarked in his judgment that:—

"It is perfectly well known that by strict ancient Native law all property was family property and all real property was inalienable, and it is equally well known that a very large portion of

the land upon which this town is built is now owned by individuals and that family ownership is gradually ceasing to exist. In a progressive community it is of course inevitable that this should be so.

"The institution of communal ownership has been dead for many years and the institution of family ownership is a dying institution and it is idle to expect this Court at this time to make use of a power which was given to it in order to avoid or mitigate the individual hardship and injustice which would necessarily be incidental to the abolition of a primitive Native system and the immediate substitution of modern methods in order to perpetuate or bolster up what is at the best only an interesting relic of the past."

This prophecy has not been fulfilled and, with respect, one would doubt whether it was correct to say that it was a dying institution in 1908. Fewer cases came before the Courts then as the conflict between the customary and the English system of tenure was not so pronounced as it is today.

The introduction of English legal terms which were quite inappropriate and had a significance of their own has sometimes confused the issue. Thus a document may provide that grantees are to hold as joint tenants or tenants in common and that the property should be held for the joint benefit of the grantees and the descendants of X and their descendants and be kept as a common dwelling house and not be sold without the written consent of all the beneficiaries (see *S.S. Giwa v. B. Otun*, Suit No. 64 of 1931; unreported). The intention here was to create a family house which is family property.

Where it is not impossible for the parties to use the premises as family property the Court would not order its sale merely because some of the interested parties desired to turn it in cash.

Decisions as to family land, which reach far back, show that English Courts will not, other than in exceptional cases, permit family land to be seized in execution for debt of one of the members (*G.C. 1917*).

For a judgment against a chief in his personal capacity, the family land is not attachable—*Ade-sola v. Giwa* 16 N.L.R. 92. A family house can-

not be seized in execution for debt of one member. *G. C. 1869*).

In West Africa under Native law buildings do not attach to the realty but remain distinct from it as chattels. It was held that on a sale only the fabric passed to the defendants and not the land or any property therein (*Pearson J. quoted in Manuel v. Dokubo*, January, W.A.C.A., 1944).

Purchase of a house carried with it a right to occupy the area covered by the house as long as the house stood, and a right of access—though this is not effective to cancel the rights of occupancy to various parts of the whole area.

The owner of the building can sell it subject to a condition that if he sold to a stranger the latter would only get the structure which he would have to remove unless he got permission of the head of the family to occupy.

But it has been held that the principle of *quicquid plantatur solo, solo cedit* applies where the transaction comes under English law. (*Francis v. Ibitoye*, 13 N.L.R. 11). Proprietary rights in the products of the land are recognised and these can be alienated by sale gift or contract. Even where there is a forfeiture, the individual concerned is allowed to reap his crops before going. Long term crops such as cocoa remain the property of the person who planted them.

Partition actions are frequent in connection with family property. This must be distinguished from an allotment of residential quarters to members of the family in a family house. Where there is a partition, there is now a deed as a rule. After a partition the portion of any member which becomes his or her own property may on an intestacy again become family property, but only members of his or her own family have an interest after partition and are entitled to share in a subsequent partition or sale. As a result of legal interpretation this has now become the custom, for formerly the members of the extended family would all have an interest. A sale will be ordered where the land is incapable of satisfactory partition and all members of the family are represented.

In one case the plaintiffs claimed partition and sale in respect of properties alleged to form the undistributed portion of their grandfather's

estate. They were children of the same mother, who, they claimed, was entitled to an equal share of the properties with the defendant. The defendant's case was that, being a male, he was entitled to a larger share than the plaintiff's mother but it was held that the partition must be equally between those entitled to it regardless of sex. (*Sule v. Ajisegiri*, 13 N.L.R. 146). In partition priority of choice rest with the eldest child irrespective of sex.

It has been held that an allotment of a house or room by a man to each of his wives did not vest the house or room so allotted in the wife as her own separate property, and that on his death such houses or rooms became part of the real property left by him. (*Oloko v. Giwa*, 15 N.L.R. 31).

Questions of forfeiture frequently arise as a result *inter alia* of an attempt to alienate family property, as well as of a denial of an overlord's right of ownership:

It has been held that a breach of tenure under Native law and custom committed by the head of the tenant family involves the whole family in the forfeiture of the property; *semble* it involves in forfeiture all the descendants of the original grantee. (*Inasa v. Oshodi*, 10 N.L.R.).

In one case the defendants who were the descendants of a domestic slave, (a special status) of an ancestor of the plaintiffs and were in lawful occupation of a portion of the family land which had been allotted to the domestic, their ancestor, for his occupation in accordance with Native law and custom, had leased the land to a stranger for a term of thirty years without the consent of the family. The plaintiffs claimed a declaration that the defendants thereby forfeited their rights as holders under Native law and custom. No evidence was called to prove that by Native law and custom an attempt by an occupier of a portion of family land to alienate without the consent of the family any part of that portion involves the forfeiture of his rights as such an occupier. It was held that the execution of the lease by the defendants amounted to such misbehaviour as to involve them in forfeiture of their rights as occupiers of family land under Native law and custom and that it is unnecessary to bring evidence to prove parti-

cular customs which have been so frequently before the Courts as to be well established and notorious. (*Buraimo v. Gbamgboye*, 15 N.L.R. 139).

The head of the family to which the defendant belonged claimed that he had forfeited his right to occupy family property on account of his misconduct. The misconduct complained of was a statement made by the defendant when under cross-examination in a previous suit. That previous suit, to which the plaintiff in this case was privy, was against the present defendant's son, seeking to eject him from the property in question. The Court held in that previous suit that the claim was unfounded. In giving evidence for his son the present defendant had under cross-examination denied the family's reversionary interest in the property. A statement made in such circumstances does not amount to misconduct sufficient to involve forfeiture of the defendant's right of occupation. (*Ashogbon v. Oduntan* 12 N.L.R. 7).

Similarly where the appellant had been in occupation of a certain piece of land in the Eastern Provinces for some ten years and more and had alleged that he had bought the land outright from the head of the local community, he did not by his allegation so impugn his overlord's title as to render himself liable to forfeiture of his holding. (*Owume v. Inyang* 10 N.L.R. 111).

A member of the family, who is a tenant of certain family land and is given notice to quit by the head of the house, has committed no breach of the conditions under which his tenancy had been granted to him, nor of the Native law and custom governing such grants. There is no power in the head of the family, as such, to terminate the tenancy so long as the tenant complies with the conditions of his tenancy, but *semble* it be terminated, even where the conditions have been complied with, if it is in conflict with the general family interest. (*Manuel v. Manuel*, 7 N.L.R. 101).

In cases in which misconduct is alleged sufficient under Native law to incur forfeiture, the Court will exercise its equitable jurisdiction in restraint of enforcement; and if the grantors adopt

a lease where there is no right to alienate or devise the land and the granting of a lease without the consent of the grantors involved a forfeiture of the original grant, they are entitled to an equitable share in the rents payable under the leases (*Bassey v. Eteta*, 4 W.A.C.A. 91).

NATIVE MORTGAGE

Strictly Natives are not allowed to mortgage family lands to aliens.

A member of a family to whom a portion of the family property had been allotted to occupy under Native law and custom, entered into occupation and without the knowledge of the family granted a mortgage over the portion allotted to him for occupation. The mortgagees eventually proceeded to advertise the property for sale and the notice of sale was the first intimation the family had of the granting of the mortgage. The family claimed to set aside the mortgage and to recover possession of the portion allotted to the mortgagor. It was held that he had no right to grant the mortgage and that it must be set aside; and that, by his granting the mortgage, he had forfeited his right to occupy the portion allotted to him and that the family was entitled to recover possession. (*Adagun v. Fagbola*, 11 N.L.R. 110).

A mortgage or pledge of land made in the presence of witnesses whereby the possession of the land is given to the lender of money, is a Native mortgage and may be enforced as between persons subject to customary law. (*Adjei v. Dabanka*, 1 W.A.C.A. 63).

It is not a Native mortgage where the mortgagor is to remain in possession. Where the mortgagee entered into possession and the mortgagor claimed an account, it was pleaded that there was no interest stated and that it was a Native mortgage, but it was held not to be and an account was ordered *Swanzy v. Bordoh*, 1891 Rechwar 197). Land was mortgaged without interest by a written instrument with a power of sale and the mortgagee is entitled to the produce of the land by way of interest. The mortgagor defaulted and the land was sold; at the sale the forms of Native mortgage were complied with. It was held that the onus was on the plaintiff to show that the

parties intended that their obligation should be regulated exclusively by English law, that it was a Native mortgage, and that an order of the Court for sale was unnecessary. (*Norh v. Gbedemah*, 1929, F.C. 1926-1929 p. 395).

No length of possession by mortgagee ousts the right of the mortgagor to recover if the debt is satisfied. Where land given as a pledge was claimed back after twenty years, an order was made that the pledger must pay the amount for which the land was pledged and unless payment was made the pledge was entitled to remain in possession (*Bainee v. Mensah*, 1853, Sarbah, F.C.L. 148); and where land was pledged in 1869, lapse of time was no bar to the recovery of the land in accordance with Native customary law and the pledgee was entitled in 1933 to recover on payment of original sum which only amounted to a few shillings.

Certain forms of *special tenure* in Lagos must be noticed, but it is not proposed to go into them at any length here as a further article on the subject of land tenure is in preparation.

Crown grants introduced originally for conveyancing purposes and confirmatory of the right title and interest of the person in possession or occupation of land were made to those in actual possession in 1863 when it was thought that the treaty of cession in 1863 vested in the Crown absolute rights to the land and the Courts upheld absolute ownership before the Privy Council in the case of *Amodu Tijani v. Secretary for Southern Nigeria*, 1921, 2 A.C. 399, decided that the cession of the territory of Lagos to the British Crown in 1861 did not affect the character of the private rights of the Natives in the land. The Courts had recognised crown grants as conferring on the grantee absolute ownership subject to rights of family, but where they were made to a headman of a household, it was decided that he held as trustee. (*Alaka v. Alaka in re Ekiri—claimant*, 1 N.L.R. 56). The reversionary right was in the chief as representing the community exercising rights of alienation. Most of the European firms in Lagos hold land acquired originally from the holder of a crown grant or a successor in title.

A crown grant left the position as regards tenure

the same and a Native grantee held subject to the rights of the family ; this was contrary to the idea of absolute ownership and made noticeable the conflict between European and African systems of tenure. There was a divergence between the terms of the crown grant purporting to confer an estate in fee simple and decisions by the Crown that it left the tenure under Native law and custom undisturbed.

Another interesting form is that of what is known as the Glover Ticket. In 1867 dissensions arose in Abeokuta and the Egba Christians migrated to Ebute Metta near Lagos. The Governor obtained from the chief an area laid out in blocks. Tickets taken from store issue voucher books (curiously reading "please issue . . . for the use of . . .") were regarded as certificates entitling the holders to a crown grant. These grants were issued down to 1908. The holders of tickets and their successors in title who did not hold crown grants were treated by the Courts as in the same position as holders of crown grants as possessing a freehold (absolute) title subject to family rights. This is seen to be a transitional stage and the holder is deemed to hold the property for the benefit of the family and cannot deal with it without their consent. The

Courts have gone so far as to uphold a title based solely on long and undisturbed occupation and the probability that it related back to a Glover ticket. But the reversionary interest in unallotted plots belongs to the family of the chief.

We had occasion to refer above to the tenure of Arotas or domestic slaves, which arises from their status in the family and relation to their overlord. After the abolition of slavery, the overlord would settle the domestics on family property and they and their descendants were entitled to reside there under the usual customary tenure (prohibiting alienation, etc.) as members of the family. They managed the property and the Courts held that in doing so they were trustees for the family. Crown grants were issued in 1836 in respect of portions to the headman in charge of the compound. It was made in the name of a particular arota and he held in trust for the chief in accordance with Native law and custom and the reversionary right remains.

It was suggested by the late Butler Lloyd J. that the legislature should provide the domestics with a title free of the reversionary interest and that on payment of compensation they should be allowed to enfranchise the family land they occupy.

NOTES ON THE RESHE LANGUAGE

By P. G. HARRIS

[Dr. M. D. W. Jeffreys, Senior Lecturer in Social Anthropology at the University of the Witwatersrand, supplies the following introductory note to this paper prepared by his late colleague, P. G. Harris, C.M.G., Senior Resident, Nigeria, who died at Bamenda, British Cameroons, at the beginning of 1945 :

"On the islands of the River Niger, in the Yauri Emirate, N. P. Nigeria, is a tribe of fisher-folk whose language is called *Tsureshe*. This language is a dying one, and fast disappearing ; yet it has left its mark on a fairly large part of Nigeria. Reference to these fisher-folk, named *Bareshe*, will be found in Mr. Harris' article "Notes on Yauri, Nigeria", published in the *Journal of the Royal Anthropological Institute*, Vol. LX, 1930, pp. 291 et seq."

Dr. Jeffreys has given permission to the editors of *African Studies* to modify the author's orthography and to add annotations. Mr. Harris had had no opportunity to revise his MS. before his last sudden illness.

We are glad of this opportunity to publish these brief notes of a Semi-Bantu language hitherto unrecorded. It is not mentioned by H. H. Johnston in his classification of Semi-Bantu, given in his large "Comparative Study of the Bantu and Semi-Bantu Languages."

C. M. D. Joint-Ed. *African Studies*]

By whom spoken :

1. The language called *Tsureshe* is spoken by the *Bareshe* (or *Gungawa* as they are called by the Hausa) who are the inhabitants of the islands of the Upper Niger comprised in the Emirate of Yauri, Sokoto Province.

Pronunciation :

2. The vowel sounds in this language are the following :

- a* as in Northern English, "man, cat."
- e* as in English "get, men."
- i* as in English "see, tea."

o as in English "naught, paw."

u as in English "too, coo."

ə as in English "earth, bird."

As far as my limited observation goes, there are no significant distinctions between long and short vowels. All these vowels, in the vicinity of nasal consonants, are slightly nasalised.

3. Diphthongs : *ai* equivalent to the "i" in "mile."

4. Among the consonants : *g* is hard as in "go" ; *j* is soft as in "jam" ; *h* has its distinct sound as an aspirate.

Article :

5. There is no article in *Reshe*.

Nouns :

6. Nouns are divided into three very definite classes, and possibly a closer investigation would reveal further classes or sub-divisions of classes. The main division is however into three : human, animal and inanimate. This division is most important, as upon the class to which a noun belongs hangs the formation of all the pronouns.

7. The three different classes are easily recognised by their prefixes, and the same prefixes are used before pronouns referring to a noun of any given class. There is no distinction of sex.

8. For the sake of simplicity the three classes are hereafter referred to as A, B and C.

9. **Class A. Human :** Nouns denoting human beings usually take a prefix *u-* which changes to *ba-* in the plural :

<i>ugupu</i> (widow)	<i>bagupu</i> (widows)
<i>uchaka</i> (weaver)	<i>bachaka</i> (weavers)
<i>uGana</i> (Hausa person)	<i>baGana</i> (Hausas)
<i>uZə</i> (Borgu man)	<i>baZə</i> (Borgu men).

There is, rarely, a variant of the prefix as in *walunika* (barber), but whatever the singular prefix may have been (and such a variant is probably due to borrowing from other languages), the

plural prefix in this class is always *ba-*; thus *walunika* becomes *balunika* (barbers).

10. **Class B. Animal:** Nouns denoting animals take a prefix *hi-* which changes to *i-* in the plural:

<i>hiroko</i> (horse)	<i>iroko</i> (horses)
<i>hikako</i> (leopard)	<i>ikako</i> (leopards)
<i>hibwa</i> (dog)	<i>ibwa</i> (dogs).

It seems to be an invariable rule that there is no deviation from the *hi-* and *i-* prefixes in this class.

11. **Class C. Inanimate or neuter:** Nouns denoting inanimate objects or natural things (such as trees, etc.) take a prefix *u-* or *a-* which changes to *tsu-* or *i-* in the plural:

<i>atsuma</i> (farm)	<i>tsutsuma</i> or <i>itsuma</i> (farms)
<i>ukana</i> (foot)	<i>ikana</i> (feet)
<i>ukusə</i> (cloth)	<i>ikusə</i> (cloths)
<i>abope</i> (bundle)	<i>tsubope</i> (bundles).

It will be seen that portions of a living thing are included in this class, and to that extent the term "inanimate" is a misnomer; and it is of interest to note that the word for "heart," *hitsumi*, belongs to the animal class, and is the only part of the body that does so belong. For the purpose of this preliminary survey of the language, I have shewn in class C all nouns not appearing under the other two heads.

Pronouns:

12. **Personal Pronouns:** The personal pronouns follow naturally upon the noun classes and shew divisions in the third person singular and plural corresponding to the three classes of nouns as explained above. The classification of A, B and C will be used as with nouns.

(a) Disjunctive personal pronouns, used to answer the question "who?" are as follows:

I:	<i>mi</i>	we:	<i>chi</i>
thou:	<i>hi</i>	you:	<i>ni</i>
A he:	<i>wu</i>	} they	<i>abo</i> (all classes)
B it:	<i>i</i>		
C it:	<i>yi</i>		

(b) Oblique cases of personal pronouns answering the question "whom" or as object of verb:

me:	<i>me</i>	us:	<i>tso</i>
thee:	<i>ho</i>	you:	<i>no</i>

A him:	<i>ne</i>	them:	<i>ba</i>
B it:	<i>he</i>	them:	<i>e</i>
C it:	<i>he</i>	them:	<i>tso</i>

(c) Personal pronouns following a preposition:

me:	<i>mi</i>	us:	<i>chi</i>
thee:	<i>hi</i>	you:	<i>ni</i>

A him:	<i>wu</i>	} them:	<i>abo</i> (all classes)
B it:	<i>ihi</i>		
C it:	<i>ihi</i>		

(d) Forms of personal pronouns used with the simplest form of verb:

I:	<i>in</i>	we:	<i>tsu, chi</i>
thou:	<i>hu</i>	you:	<i>nu</i>
A he:	<i>u</i>	they:	<i>ba</i>
B it:	<i>hi</i>	they:	<i>i</i>
C it:	<i>tsu</i>	they:	<i>i</i>

Verb "to be":

13. *ne.*

I am:	<i>mi ne¹</i>	we are:	<i>chi ne</i>
thou art:	<i>hi ne</i>	you are:	<i>ni ne</i>
A he is:	<i>wu ni</i>	they are:	<i>abo</i>
B it is:	<i>i hi</i>	they are:	<i>yi e</i>
C it is:	<i>i hi</i>	they are:	<i>yi i</i>

Verb "to have":

14. The verb "to have" is expressed by the preposition *ta* (with) and some slight changes in the personal pronouns. The noun is never used directly with the verb as in English.

I have:	<i>min ta</i>	we have:	<i>chin ta</i>
thou hast:	<i>hin ta</i>	you have:	<i>nin ta</i>
A he has:	<i>wun ta</i>	they have:	<i>aba ta</i>
B it has:	<i>ihi ta</i>	they have:	<i>yi ta</i>
C it has:	<i>ye ta</i>	they have:	<i>yi ta</i>

Negative:

15. The negative is explained here, as it involves changes in the personal pronouns and in the form of the verb "to be". *Kata* is the negative root.

I am not:	<i>mi ni kita</i>	we are not:	<i>chi ni kita</i>
thou art not:	<i>hi ni kita</i>	you are not:	<i>ni ni kita</i>

¹ The author's word-division is left as he wrote it; we are not in a position to decide whether these parts should be joined or not, but are of opinion that conjunctivism prevails. The author evidently came to this study with a heritage of Hamitic Hausa in which a different type of word-division prevails.—[C.M.D.]

Interrogative Pronouns :

19. There is again the division into three classes, similar to that of the nouns. The interrogative pronouns, if used with nouns, follow them.

	(sing.)	(plur.)
A. who ?	<i>wo ?</i>	<i>bo'o ?</i>
B. which ?	<i>hiwo ?</i>	<i>iwo ?</i>
C. which ?	<i>iwo ?</i>	<i>tsuwo ?</i>
what ?	<i>be ?</i>	

Which road did you follow ? *Uchinna'wo hu wame ?*

Who did this ? *Wo u mini riba'dena¹ ?* (Who he did thing this ?)

Whose slave are you ? *Wu'shera ya ?*

Whose goat did Wahunu kill ? *Wo hipepa Wahunu u kumi ?*

What are you doing ? *Be hi mini'ya ?*

Genitive :

20. The genitive is simply expressed by placing the possessor word before the possessed.²

The king's horse : *Utata hiroko.*

The horse's tail : *Hiroko wina.*

And the same is the case, as will be seen, with possessive pronouns.

Conjunction "that" :

21. The conjunction "that" (e.g. "he said that this is so") is not expressed in Reshe.

Indefinite pronouns :

22. There is the same division into three classes as before :

	sing.	plur.
A. someone, a certain person :	<i>ubane</i>	<i>babane</i>
B. a certain one :	<i>hibane</i>	<i>ibane</i>
C. something :	<i>ubane</i>	<i>abane</i> or <i>tsubane</i>
A. anyone :	<i>walla</i>	} (no pl.)
B.		
C. anything :	<i>koemba</i>	

Some followed the road, others followed the river:

Babane ba wame luchina babane ba wame lamomo.

A certain man told me this : *Ubane u shiki mu adena.*

Each man must bring his hoe : *Walla u nanje 'koma.*

¹ Here it will be noted that the *u* is not elided after the preceding vowel sound in *wo*.

² This is typically a Sudanic construction, differing radically from the Bantu.—[C.M.D.]

Give each man sixpence : *Walla ba pye ne hisisi*
(Each they give him sixpence).

Everyone knows this : *Walla 'nape adena.*

There is no particle like the English "one" or French "on" or Hausa "a". To express "on dit" the Bareshe say *ba we* (they say).

23. "Nothing" is rendered by *bariba*, but there does not appear to be a word for "no one". If asked, "Is anyone at home?" the answer would be *ba pi kita* (they are here not).

Reflexive and Emphatic forms of Personal Pronouns :

24. I myself :	<i>ame ta mun papa</i>
thou thyself :	<i>aho ta hiri papa</i>
A. he himself :	<i>uwendo ta wuri papa</i>
B. it itself :	<i>ihi ta hiri papa</i>
C. it itself :	(would not arise)
we ourselves :	<i>atso ta tsun papa</i>
you yourselves :	<i>ano ta nun papa</i>
A. they themselves :	<i>bawendo ta abun papa</i>
B. they themselves :	<i>yi'i ta yin papa</i>
They themselves went to the market :	<i>Bawendo ta abun papa ba no l'achika.</i>

Noun-agent :

25. There is a noun-agent not unlike that formed by the Hausa prefix *mai-*, but in Reshe the word *undo* (man) is used as a suffix instead.

(cf) Hausa : *mai doki* (horseman)

Reshe : *hirok'undo* (horseman)

Hirok'undo is a compound of *hiroko* (horse) and *undo* (man).

Hausa : the owner of a cloth : *mai zanne*

Reshe : the owner of a cloth : *ukus'undo.*

Hausa : the owner of a farm : *mai gona*

Reshe : the owner of a farm : *utsuma'ndo.*

This noun-agent has a plural, which is formed by changing the prefix of the preceding noun (regardless of the class to which it belonged) to *ba-*. This is a natural enough rule, seeing that all the noun-agents denote human beings.

hirok'undo > *barok'undo*

utsuma'ndo > *batsuma'ndo*

urindo (king) > *barindo* (kings).

Possessive Pronouns :

26. (a) **Inseparable** : As might be expected from the noun classification arrangement, the

possessive pronouns change according to the class to which the noun they qualify belongs.

	(A)	(B)	(C)
mine :	<i>mu</i>	<i>mi</i>	<i>ma</i>
thine :	<i>hu</i>	<i>hi</i>	<i>ha</i>
his, her :	<i>wu</i>	<i>wi</i>	<i>wa</i>
our :	<i>tsu</i>	<i>tsu</i>	<i>tsu</i>
your :	<i>nu</i>	<i>nu</i>	<i>na</i>
their :	<i>a</i>	<i>ni</i>	<i>aba</i>
my friend	<i>mu 'lo</i>		
his horse :	<i>wi hiroko</i>		
their farm :	<i>aba 'tsuma</i>		

(b) **Separable :**

	(A)	(B)	(C)
mine :	<i>muhir</i>	<i>mihir</i>	<i>mahir</i>
thine :	<i>huhir</i>	<i>hihir</i>	<i>hahir</i>
his, hers :	<i>wuhir</i>	<i>wihir</i>	<i>wahir</i>
ours :	<i>tsuhir</i>	<i>tsuhir</i>	<i>tsuhir</i>
yours :	<i>nuhir</i>	<i>nuhir</i>	<i>nahir</i>
theirs :	<i>abohir</i>	<i>nihir</i>	<i>abahir</i>

That is mine : *Adanna mihir hi.*

There is another form of the separable possessive pronoun which is frequently heard :

	(A)	(B)	(C)
Mine, my :	<i>mulayə</i>	<i>milayə</i>	<i>malayə</i>
Thine, thy :	<i>hulayə</i>	<i>hilayə</i>	<i>halayə</i>
His, hers :	<i>wulayə</i>	<i>wilayə</i>	<i>walayə</i>
Our, ours :	<i>tsulayə</i>	<i>tsulayə</i>	<i>tsulayə</i>
Your, yours :	<i>nulayə</i>	<i>nulayə</i>	<i>nalayə</i>
Their, theirs :	<i>abolayə</i>	<i>nilayə</i>	<i>abalayə</i>

Prepositions :

27. The following prepositions,¹ except where shown otherwise, precede the noun or pronoun :

to	<i>la, lamuni</i>
at	<i>a</i>
with	<i>ta</i>
from	<i>ta</i>
of	<i>layə</i>
on account of	<i>sabota</i>
since, as far as	<i>tuni ata</i>
except	<i>sai</i>

¹ These adverbial formatives are obviously not separable words; some are prefixes, some suffixes, some inflexions involving both prefixal and suffixal elements. The term "preposition" is really inapplicable here.—[C.M.D.]

apart from *banta*
 in, into *la* followed by noun, then *pə*
 outside (after noun) *lampata*, but "outside the town" : *la bino pata*
 in front of *la chə*
 behind (after noun) *malo*
 on top of *la rirə*
 under *hilungu*
 in the midst of *la chibe*
 at the place of (after noun) *ribi*
 because of *sabota*
 on, upon *rirə*
 towards *la*
 with reference to, concerning *wopə*

Adverbs :

28. **Of place :**

here *dia*
 together *baki*
 anywhere *perapə*
 far away *hia*
 hence *ta dia*
 where *pə*
 near *pala ta*
 there *dari*
 whence *ta pə*

Of time :

now, at once *kekiryə*
 at the same time *rigiri*
 when ? *iriwo ?*
 when *asala*
 immediately *kekire kekire*
 again *shibi*
 then *asadipina*
 for ever *(har abada)*
 always *tutu*
 before *awela*
 long ago *tuntuni* (cf. Hausa)
 since *tun* (cf. Hausa)
 since when ? *tun iriwo ?*
 yet, then *ye*
 at first *robo*
 in the morning *chichipə*
 in the evening *hiturwi*
 often *tari*
 until *sa*

Of manner :

thus	<i>punu</i>
in this way	<i>punu-i</i>
How ?	<i>lə ?</i>
slowly, gently	<i>tenshe</i>
together	<i>baki</i>
with difficulty	<i>dike</i>
of necessity	<i>atila</i>
much less	<i>balle</i> (cf. Hausa)
quickly	<i>ira ira</i>
by force	<i>ta tsukisa</i>
properly	<i>sosai</i> (cf. Hausa)

Of affirmation or negation :

really	<i>ashe</i>
no	<i>a'a</i>
perhaps	<i>shirkita</i>
truly	<i>akika</i>
yes	<i>n'ya</i>

Conjunctions :

29. and	<i>ta</i>
but	<i>amma</i>
again	<i>shibi</i>
lest	<i>kadapi</i>
when	<i>asala</i>
like as	<i>rito</i>
too	<i>kəsə</i>
both . . . and	<i>ta . . . ta</i>
also	<i>kəsə</i>
either . . . or	<i>ko . . . ko</i>
if	<i>ini</i>
because	<i>domin</i>
then	<i>ye</i>

Interjections :

30.	ho !	hi !	<i>kai</i>	oh !	<i>oh</i>
	alas !	<i>waiyyo</i>	indeed !	<i>asha</i>	
	(all derived from Hausa).				

Numerals :**31. (a) Cardinal :**

one	<i>tsuniya</i>
two	<i>yisə</i>
three	<i>tatso</i>
four	<i>nasha</i>
five	<i>ito</i>
six	<i>tenzo</i>
seven	<i>tensə</i>

eight	<i>dallanzo</i>
nine	<i>tanasha</i>
ten	<i>upwa</i>
11	<i>upwa beta hitsuniya</i>
12	<i>.. .. yisə</i>
13	<i>.. .. tatso</i>
14	<i>.. .. nasha</i>
15	<i>.. .. to</i>
16	<i>.. .. tenzo</i>
17	<i>.. .. tensə</i>
18	<i>.. .. dallanzo</i>
19	<i>.. .. tanasha</i>
20	<i>alasə</i>
21	<i>alasə beta hitsuniya</i>
30	<i>alatatso</i>
40	<i>alanasha</i>
50	<i>alato</i>
60	<i>alatenzo</i>
70	<i>alatensə</i>
80	<i>aladallanzo</i>
90	<i>alatanasha</i>
100	<i>rinaku</i>
101	<i>rinaku beta hitsuniya</i>
200	<i>anakəsə</i>
300	<i>anakatatso</i>
400	<i>anakanasha</i>
500	<i>anakato</i>
600	<i>anakatenzo</i>
700	<i>anakatensə</i>
800	<i>anakadallanzo</i>
900	<i>anakatanasha</i>
1000	<i>udubu</i>
2000	<i>udubu yisə</i>

Examples :

1928 *udubu ta anakatanasha ta alasə ta dallanzo*
 I saw five cattle on the island : *In yi inna ito la hirwa pə.*

I saw three men on horses : *In yi bippa tatso la iroko rirə.*

32. (b) Ordinal :

first	<i>robo yə</i>
second	<i>yisə yə</i>
third	<i>atatso yə</i>
fourth	<i>anasha yə</i>
fifth	<i>ito yə</i>
sixth	<i>tenzo yə</i> , and so on.

33. (c) **Adverbial :**

once	<i>utsuniya</i>
twice	<i>uriso</i>
thrice	<i>utatso</i>
four times	<i>unasha</i>
five times	<i>uto</i>
six times	<i>utenzo</i> , and so on.

Adjectives :

34. Unlike possessive pronouns, which precede the noun, adjectives follow the noun.

black horse :	<i>hiroko hibiru</i>
small boy :	<i>ubi lukana</i>
small horse :	<i>hiroko hilukana</i>
black corn :	<i>tsuriya tsubiru</i>

But, like pronouns, it will be seen from the above examples that adjectives take the same prefixes, both singular and plural, as the nouns they qualify.

Examples of changes :

	(A)	(B)	(C)
red :	<i>weta</i>	<i>heta</i>	<i>cheta</i>
white :	<i>upuhə</i>	<i>hipuhə</i>	<i>tsupuhə</i>
black :	<i>ubiru</i>	<i>hibiru</i>	<i>tsubiru</i>
small :	<i>lukana</i>	<i>hilukana</i>	<i>lukana</i>
large :	<i>ukami</i>	<i>hikami</i>	<i>tsukami</i>

Verbs :

35. The rule with verbs appears to be (excepting the verb "to be") that the form of the verb does not alter whatever the tense may be. The root remains the same and the tenses are formed either, in the case of the future, by a change of the form of the preceding pronoun, or, in the case of the imperative, by a suffix *-a*, and in the case of the pluperfect by a suffix *-la*.

Present and Perfect Tenses : These appear to be formed, as already stated, by the root form of the verb together with the personal pronouns, as explained in 12(d).

I went to the town, I brought corn : *In no la chibu*, *in nanje tsuriya*.

I mounted my horse : *In none mi hiroko*.

I beg you to leave me : *In huche ho hu* (you) *neni me*.

Future Tense : This appears to be formed by using the root form together with the personal pronouns explained in 12(a).

Where shall we go to-morrow ? *Po chin no maiya?*
I shall go to the town : *Mi no la chibu*.

I shall mount my horse : *Mi none mi hiroko*.

On the other hand, the expression "I shall give" is *in pye* ; "I shall do", *in mana*.

Pluperfect Tense : The suffix *-la* seems definitely to be used to express the pluperfect after adverbs of time.

when we had drunk : *asala tsu wi-la*.

when he had seen me : *ataga u yi mi-la*.

This *-la* suffix comes, it will be noticed, after the object of the verb, where there is an object, but where there is not, it follows directly after the verb.

Imperative : The suffix *-a* seems quite definitely to be used only in the case of the imperative.
Go to the town : *No-a la chibu*.

See the chief in the middle of his people : *Tata di-a bippa la chibe* (chief see people in middle).

Bring corn : *Nanja tsuriya*.

Verbal Noun :

36. A further and much closer study of this language will probably reveal that a great number of nouns are formed from verb roots. The simplest formation of the verbal noun is that by a prefix *in-*. Take the following examples :—

I beg (begged) the king : *in huche tata*

begging : *inhuche*

He slept : *u lahuche*¹

sleeping : *inlaho*

A further form of the verbal noun that can be identified is with a prefix *u-* and a suffix *-ka* or *-ta*, both of which, when attached to the verbal root, form a noun of the human (A) class.

sleepers *ulahochita*

I ran *in cho*

runner *uchoka*

running *ikaho*

He went *u no*

traveller *unoka*

He kicked the horse *u subi hiroko*

kicking *insubi*

To work in wood *lare*

carpenter *ularika*

¹ *-che* seems to be a suffix in this verb which is not retained in the noun derivative.—[C.M.D.]

To cook	<i>pushire</i>	To teach, instruct	<i>pari</i>
cooking pot	<i>upushirka</i>	teacher, instructor	<i>uparika</i>
hunting	<i>luburi</i>	He untied the load	<i>u bolune tsube</i>
hunter	<i>uluburika</i>	loosening	<i>inbululuni</i>

THE STORY OF THE BUTCHER, THE BLACKSMITH AND THE BLACK DOG ALABARI UPACHIBINI TA WAKANA TA HIBWA HIBIRU

Both	a butcher	and	a blacksmith	they went	journeying	together.
<i>Ta</i>	<i>upachibini</i>	<i>ta</i>	<i>wakana</i>	<i>ba no</i>	<i>mena</i>	<i>baki.</i>
They left	here	Yelwa	in the early morning.			
<i>Ba yu</i>	<i>ta diya</i>	<i>Ayalwa</i>	<i>ta chichipa.</i>			
They reached	Shanga	at night	this.			
<i>Ba lame</i>	<i>Ishinga</i>	<i>ta akipo</i>	<i>adipi.</i>			
When	they had finished	food	then	the blacksmith	he said	to the butcher :
<i>Asadipina</i>	<i>bu 'ngwe</i>	<i>ribani riye</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>wakana</i>	<i>u we</i>	<i>ri upachibini :</i>
" Where	shall we go	to-morrow ? "	The butcher	then	he answered,	
" <i>Po</i>	<i>chin no</i>	<i>maiya ? "</i>	<i>Upachibini</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>u tone,</i>	
he said :	" I,	I do not know ;	the work of to-day	it suffices me ;		
<i>u we :</i>	" <i>Ame,</i>	<i>in napi kita ;</i>	<i>rimono ribure</i>	<i>a riki me ;</i>		
let	us make	talk	this upon	to-morrow."		
<i>nenā</i>	<i>tsu mini</i>	<i>wopo</i>	<i>adena yerira</i>	<i>maiya."</i>		
Before	he entered	sleep	the butcher	he said :	" I shall give	
<i>Asala</i>	<i>u tofa</i>	<i>laho</i>	<i>upachibini</i>	<i>u we :</i>	<i>" In pye</i>	
my dog	black	beating	because	he is	I see	he wishes
<i>mu hibwa</i>	<i>hibiru</i>	<i>akashu</i>	<i>domi</i>	<i>wu ni</i>	<i>in ti</i>	<i>wa chi</i>
thing	to eat "	" Do not you do thus	butcher ",	said		theft me
<i>riba</i>	<i>lariya "</i>	<i>" Ata mana puno kata</i>	<i>upachibini,"</i>	<i>inji</i>		<i>wuhira mi</i>
the blacksmith ;	" Your dog	he has done not wrong "				
<i>wakana ;</i>	<i>" Hi hibwa</i>	<i>hi mini alahi kita "</i>				
The butcher	he said :	" I shall do	thing	which I like	with my own thing."	
<i>Upachibini</i>	<i>u we :</i>	<i>" In mana</i>	<i>riba</i>	<i>la ma chi</i>	<i>ta mi riba."</i>	
Then	the blacksmith	he said :	" Oh	all right.	This is not my concern."	
<i>Ye</i>	<i>wakana</i>	<i>u we :</i>	<i>" To,</i>	<i>ye puno.</i>	<i>Adipina abiri mi kita."</i>	
Then	the butcher	he took out	rope	from a bag ;	then	he tied up
<i>Ye</i>	<i>upachibini</i>	<i>we purine</i>	<i>hiwi</i>	<i>lu jika pa ;</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>u bupi</i>
his dog	to a tree,	whereupon	he beat it	till	it cried out.	
<i>wu hibwa</i>	<i>la achan,</i>	<i>asadipina</i>	<i>wu mi he</i>	<i>hari</i>	<i>ihi lantswe.</i>	
Then	the dog	he said :	" My master	I beg you,	you leave me ;	
<i>Ye</i>	<i>hibwa</i>	<i>hi we :</i>	<i>" Mu tondo</i>	<i>in huchi ho,</i>	<i>hu neni me ;</i>	

I,	I have not done you harm".	The butcher	was surprised	when	he	
<i>Ame,</i>	<i>in meri hu alafi kita</i> ".	<i>Upachibini</i>	<i>yu hini amamaki</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>wi</i>	
heard	the dog	he was	talking	like a man,	then	he said
<i>mi</i>	<i>hibwa</i>	<i>ihi la</i>	<i>wopo</i>	<i>huwa undo,</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>u we</i>
						in his heart :
						<i>la wu hitsumu :</i>
" I have ever seen	dog	forty-five	but	ever	I have seen	even one
" <i>In rikin yi</i>	<i>hibwa</i>	<i>alanashan chi ton</i>	<i>amani</i>	<i>dade</i>	<i>in yi</i>	<i>ko hitsune</i>
which	it did	talk	not".	" Indeed",	said	the dog,
<i>hiwo</i>	<i>hi mini</i>	<i>wopo</i>	<i>kita</i> ".	" <i>Ashe,</i> "	<i>in ji</i>	<i>hibwa,</i> "
						" <i>Kekeride</i>
						you see
						<i>hu yi</i>
the forty-sixth		which	it does	talking.	Because of this	you
<i>alanashan be taton ta hitsune</i>		<i>hiwo</i>	<i>hi mi</i>	<i>wopo.</i>	<i>Yen she mi</i> "	<i>hu</i>
will leave off	beating me".	The butcher	shame	seized him,		
<i>nene</i>	<i>me mu me</i> ".	<i>Upachibini</i>	<i>mine</i>	<i>ma pi ne,</i>		
then	he said :	" Oh,	all right,	I will not again hit you	if	you will tell
<i>ye</i>	<i>u we :</i>	" <i>To,</i>	<i>ye puno,</i>	<i>man pirin mumi hu kata</i>	<i>ini</i>	<i>hu shika</i>
me	where	we will go	to-morrow,	I	and the blacksmith".	
<i>mi</i>	<i>abola</i>	<i>chin no</i>	<i>maiya,</i>	<i>ame</i>	<i>ta wakana</i> ".	
" Oh,	that	is not hard.	You are going	wherever	Allah	He takes you".
" <i>To,</i>	<i>adipina</i>	<i>la ta wuya kata.</i>	<i>Ni lan no</i>	<i>kopane</i>	<i>Wuru</i>	<i>U noch' nu</i> ".
The blacksmith	he fell down	with laughter	when	he heard	this answer ;	
<i>Wakana</i>	<i>u cheni</i>	<i>ta yeku</i>	<i>ata</i>	<i>wi me</i>	<i>tone dipina ;</i>	
then	he said :	" I prefer	to agree	with the dog	his talk.	His sense
<i>ye</i>	<i>u we :</i>	" <i>In buki</i>	<i>ayada</i>	<i>ta hibwa</i>	<i>ihi wopo.</i>	<i>Ihi hankali</i>
						<i>u</i>
passes	the sense	of men".	Then	he lay	mat upon,	he did
<i>buki</i>	<i>ahankali</i>	<i>bipa</i> ".	<i>Ye</i>	<i>u hini</i>	<i>wapa rire,</i>	<i>u mini</i>
						<i>laho.</i>
When	the king	of the town	here	he heard	the news	of the dog,
<i>Ata</i>	<i>Tata</i>	<i>chibu</i>	<i>dipina</i>	<i>wi me</i>	<i>alabari</i>	<i>hibwa,</i>
then	he sent	they call to him	the butcher,	then	he said :	
<i>ye</i>	<i>u tsume</i>	<i>ba taki ri ne</i>	<i>upachibini,</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>u we :</i>	
" You have	the dog	which	it speaks".	The butcher	he said :	" I am he".
" <i>Hinta</i>	<i>hibwa</i>	<i>hiwo</i>	<i>hi mini wopa</i> ".	<i>Upachibini</i>	<i>u we :</i>	" <i>Mi ne</i> ".
Then	the king	said :	" Indeed,	now	the king of the butchers	he has died ;
<i>Ye</i>	<i>Tata</i>	<i>u we :</i>	" <i>Ashe,</i>	<i>kekire</i>	<i>bapachibini tata</i>	<i>u wi ;</i>
Do you want	the job?	" The butcher	he answered,	then	he said :	" King, I wish so".
<i>Ko ha cha</i>	<i>tsupundu ?</i> "	" <i>Upachibini</i>	<i>u tone,</i>	<i>ye</i>	<i>u we :</i>	" <i>Tata, ma che</i> ".
Then	he prostrated himself	before the king.	So things went on	then		
<i>Ye</i>	<i>u re manche</i>	<i>la tata chø.</i>	<i>Chinipi chinipi</i>	<i>ye</i>		
the butcher	he became	a great man	in he town.	But	one day	the king
<i>upachibini</i>	<i>u kumi</i>	<i>undo kami</i>	<i>la chibu pø.</i>	<i>Amma</i>	<i>riwe ribane</i>	<i>tata</i>

¹ i.e. the title. The Reshe never used titles such as Hausa *zaki*, but addressed the chief as *Tata*.

he sent <i>u tsume</i>	seeking meat. <i>riholun lake.</i>	Alas <i>Ashe</i>	on this day <i>riwe na</i>	the butcher <i>upachibini</i>	he had no <i>wa ta</i>	ram <i>hitamo</i>	nor <i>ko</i>
ox <i>hinna</i>	which <i>hiwo</i>	he would cut, <i>u kumo,</i>	so <i>ye</i>	he killed <i>w'ungwi</i>	this dog. <i>hibwa dipina.</i>	He sent <i>U tsume</i>	the meat <i>ta riholo</i>
to the king place. <i>lanno tata ribi.</i>	The king <i>Tata</i>	he knew not <i>u napi kita</i>		meat this its kind. <i>riholu na ihirilo.</i>			
When <i>Ata</i>	he had eaten <i>u tamila</i>	then <i>ye</i>	sickness <i>chiba</i>	seized him. <i>tsapi ne.</i>	He got better <i>U buki hera</i>	from sickness <i>la chiba</i>	
this <i>dipina</i>	which <i>urwo</i>	he had had. <i>u mini.</i>	Then <i>Ye</i>	his courtiers <i>wo bafadawa</i>	they told him <i>ba shiki ni</i>	the thing <i>riba</i>	
you sick <i>hu chiba</i>	the dog <i>hibwa</i>	meat", <i>riholo.</i>	Then <i>Ye</i>	the king <i>Tata</i>	he sent <i>u tsume</i>	they call for him <i>ba takiri ne</i>	
the executioner. <i>kwaka.</i>	Then <i>Ye</i>	he said <i>u we</i>	to him : <i>ri ne :</i>	" The thankless <i>" Ubutulu</i>	butcher <i>upachibini</i>		
they cut off <i>ba kumi</i>	his <i>wu</i>	head", <i>rishita"</i>	" It is finished," <i>" Mun' gwe",</i>	said <i>inji</i>	the executioner. <i>kwaka.</i>		
Then <i>Ye</i>	he went to <i>u no</i>	the blacksmith's place <i>wakana ribi</i>	so that <i>ala</i>	he sharpen for him <i>u yuri ni</i>			
this axe <i>ruma dipi</i>	because <i>domin</i>	with it <i>ta ihi</i>	he would cut off <i>un kumo</i>	king of butchers <i>tata bapachibini</i>			
head. <i>rishita.</i>	The blacksmith <i>Wakana</i>	he replied : <i>u tone :</i>	" With gladness upon <i>" A murna riro</i>				
I make for you <i>in mera ho</i>	the work. <i>rimono.</i>	Before, <i>Robo,</i>	I told <i>in shiki</i>	the butcher <i>upachibini</i>	the sense <i>ahankali</i>		
of a dog <i>hibwa</i>	it passed <i>la buki</i>	men <i>bipa</i>	their sense. <i>abu hankali.</i>	He himself <i>Uwendo</i>	he gave me <i>u pye mi</i>	truth <i>agaskiya¹</i>	not. <i>kata</i>
It is necessary <i>La kamata</i>	you make <i>hu me</i>	for him <i>ri ne</i>	sense <i>hankali</i>	with this axe." <i>ta ruma ridipina."</i>			
	Thus <i>Puno</i>	the world <i>aduniya</i>	way <i>hali</i>	it is. <i>ye a:</i>			

VOCABULARY ENGLISH—RESHE

Prefatory Note :

1. Ajectives are shewn throughout as for the A (human) class. Thus "black" is shewn in the vocabulary as *ubiru*; this would change to *hibiru* in the B (animal) class, and to either *abiru* or *ibiru* in the C (neuter) class.² The plurals for all classes change in the same way as the nouns.

¹ cf. Hausa.

² It would have been better to enter the adjective under stem e.g., *-biru*.—[C.M.D.]

2. Where the English infinitive appears, the equivalent in Reshe is the perfect tense. Thus "to eat" is shewn as *re*, which is the word that would be used to say "he ate" *u re*.

3. Where plurals of nouns are not shewn, it is understood that the ordinary rules (explained in 9-11 of the notes) for plural formation are followed in the normal way.

A

able, to be	<i>nape</i>
abuse	<i>tsubarkonu</i>
accompany, to	<i>uchichi</i> (he accompanied him : <i>wu chichi ne</i>)
affliction	<i>mahere</i>
afterbirth	<i>umachita</i>
again	<i>shibi</i>
age	<i>tsukam</i>
all	<i>zuku</i>
alone, one	<i>tsune</i>
always	<i>tutu</i>
ancestor	<i>amo</i> (plur. <i>ba-amo</i>)
and	<i>ta</i>
anger	<i>rikuku</i>
answer	<i>unkwe</i>
answer, reply, to	<i>tone</i>
antelope (roan)	<i>hikyaha</i>
antelope (oribi)	<i>yushipo</i>
anything, everything	<i>koemba</i>
apron, loin cloth	<i>ribente</i> (pl. <i>tsubente</i>)
arrive at, to	<i>arike, lame</i>
arrow	<i>ribabe</i> (pl. <i>ababe</i>)
ash, ashes	<i>masakaya</i>
ask, to	<i>bipi</i>
assembly	<i>kume</i>
at first	<i>robo</i>
attempt	<i>akokari</i> (from Hausa)
average, moderate size	<i>utsotso</i>
await, to	<i>pare, pala</i>
axe (Hausa : <i>gatari</i>)	<i>ruma</i> (pl. <i>tsuma</i>)
axe (Hausa : <i>gizago</i>)	<i>ishebo</i> (pl. <i>tsushebo</i>)

B

baby, child	<i>ubi</i> (pl. <i>babbi</i>)
bachelor (unmarried person of either sex)	<i>ugupu</i>
back	<i>umalo</i> (pl. <i>bamalo</i>)
bag	<i>umanda</i>
ball, brick of mud	<i>hikuti</i> (pl. <i>ikuti</i>)
bald person	<i>ukwaha</i>
bank, side	<i>hiteche, uteche</i>
barber	<i>walunika</i> (pl. <i>balunika</i>)
bark (of tree)	<i>ubeka</i> (pl. <i>tsubeka</i>)
bat	<i>higima</i> (pl. <i>igima</i>)
	<i>hikamba</i> (pl. <i>ikamba</i>)

bean	<i>ikono</i>
bear, bring forth, to	<i>mache</i>
beard	<i>tsububu</i>
beat, pound, to	<i>muhi</i>
beating, flogging	<i>akashi</i>
beater, thing for pounding clay)	<i>ubahita</i> (pl. <i>tsubahita</i>)
because of	<i>sabota</i>
because	<i>domi</i>
bed (of mud)	<i>hipika</i>
before	<i>uchu, asala</i>
beg, to	<i>huche</i>
beggar	<i>uburando, uhutaka</i>
begging	<i>inhuche</i>
begin, to	<i>tekune</i>
beginning,	<i>intekune, atekunda</i>
bellows	<i>hiloka</i>
belly	<i>ripo</i>
bend, stoop, to	<i>bake</i>
bend, to (trans.)	<i>guzubire</i>
bird	<i>hisheko</i>
bite, to	<i>kapuni</i>
bitterness	<i>intatata</i>
black	<i>ubiru</i>
blacken, to	<i>umpupi</i>
black ant	<i>rika</i>
blacksmith	<i>wakana</i> (pl. <i>bakana</i>)
blind man	<i>urepi</i>
blind, to be	<i>repi</i>
blue	<i>ushuni</i>
body	<i>yito</i> (pl. <i>ito</i>) <i>wito</i> (pl. <i>ito</i>)
boil, abscess	<i>rimute, amute</i>
bone	<i>wupu</i> (pl. <i>tsupu</i>)
bone setter	<i>utoka</i>
Bori	<i>iShika</i> (Yan Bori : <i>baShika</i>)
borrow, to	<i>mopake</i>
bottom	<i>apina</i> (pl. <i>tsupina</i>)
boundary, limit	<i>rito</i>
bow	<i>ute</i> (pl. <i>tsute</i>)
bowels	<i>supiha</i>
box, to	<i>idimbi</i>
boy, male child	<i>ubi darimi</i> (pl. <i>babbi darimi</i>).
branch	<i>ushabo</i> (pl. <i>tsushabo</i>)
break, to	<i>umake</i>

break up, to	<i>make dasuni</i>	child, young person	<i>ubalkari</i>
break wind, to	<i>chibini'i</i>	choose, to	<i>bire</i>
breast	<i>anuhe</i> (pl. <i>tsunuhe</i>)	circumcision	<i>inbeshe</i>
breast (pap)	<i>me'e</i>	cleaning	<i>ingugi</i>
bride	<i>u-amariya</i> (from Hausa)	clear ground, to	<i>sake</i>
bridegroom	<i>ango</i> (from Hausa)	climber, one who climbs	<i>hirohita</i>
bridle, bit	<i>ukabo</i> (pl. <i>tsukabo</i>)	close to	<i>kwalla kwalla, fala ta,</i> <i>pala ta</i> (close to him <i>fala ta wuni</i>)
bring, to	<i>nanje</i>		<i>kuboli</i>
broker	<i>ukunaka</i> (pl. <i>bakunaka</i>)	close, to	<i>ukusa</i> (pl. <i>ikusa</i>)
broth	<i>tsana</i>	cloth	<i>umaka</i>
build, to	<i>mahe</i>	cloth beater	<i>hipeso</i>
builder	<i>umahaka</i>	cobra	<i>tsuhi</i>
bull	<i>hilome</i> (pl. <i>balume</i>)	cold	<i>lahira</i>
bundle	<i>abope</i> (pl. <i>tsubope</i>)	cold place	<i>ribu</i>
bush	<i>lapwo</i>	come forth, to	<i>tuhi</i>
bush cow	<i>hiruma</i> (pl. <i>iruma</i>)	come in, to	<i>malakiri</i>
but	<i>amani</i>	comparison	<i>miche</i>
butcher	<i>upachibini</i>	compensation	<i>abiri</i>
buy, to	<i>tsure</i>	concern, business	<i>danchiri</i>
		confuse, to	<i>awopo, roka</i>
		conversation	<i>pushire</i>
		cook, to	<i>upushirka</i>
		cooking pot	<i>rima, ama</i>
		corn-bin	<i>hioko</i>
		corner	<i>uwohiche</i> (pl. <i>bawohiche</i>)
		corpse	<i>derire</i>
		correct	<i>tsubere, tsugwere</i>
		cotton	<i>wolo</i>
		cough	<i>mane</i>
		count, to	<i>upundubi</i>
		courtier, son of chief	<i>ukuboha</i>
		covering	<i>ukawadahindu</i>
		covetous person	<i>hinna hinnu</i> (pl. <i>inna</i> <i>hinnu</i>)
		cow	<i>hyalaba</i>
			<i>itache</i>
		crab	<i>higeno</i>
		creeper, tendril	<i>hippa</i> (pl. <i>ippa</i>)
		crocket	<i>kiyache</i>
		crocodile	<i>hiyunga</i>
		crouch, to	<i>sola</i>
		crown bird	<i>kane, lantswe</i>
		cross, to	<i>ikano</i>
		cry out, to	<i>uchakika</i>
		crying out	<i>chake</i>
		curse, cursing	
		curse, to	

C

call, to	<i>take, same</i>
calling	<i>taka, sama</i>
camel	<i>hirakunbe</i>
canoe (generic)	<i>utsumu</i> (pl. <i>itsumu</i>)
canoe (half)	<i>ukapə</i> (pl. <i>ikapə</i>)
canoe (small)	<i>utsumbi</i> (pl. <i>itsumbi</i>)
canoe (large)	<i>ukami</i> (pl. <i>ikami</i>)
canoe (old, used for covering graves)	<i>ukungulu</i> (pl. <i>ikungulu</i>)
cap	<i>risheteshita</i> (pl. <i>tsushi-</i> <i>teshita</i>)
care, pay attention to	<i>pakiche</i>
carpenter	<i>ularika</i> (pl. <i>balarika</i> < <i>lare</i> to work in wood
carry baby on back, to	<i>kumbahe</i>
cassava	<i>rigeshe</i>
cat, domestic	<i>hipana</i>
cease, to	<i>nena</i>
chaff, husks	<i>sukushi</i>
change, to	<i>lukiri</i>
charm	<i>rilaye</i>
cheapness	<i>arrha</i>
chew, to	<i>tame</i>
chief (Hausa : <i>sarki</i>)	<i>utata</i>
chief (lesser)	<i>upundu</i>
chief (of Yawuri)	<i>urindo, wurindo</i>

cut, to
cut down, to
cutting down
cutting (of tribal
markings)

kabi
kumi
kumo

nsabe

diminish, decrease, to
dirt
discharge, shoot, to
disobedience
disobedient person
dive, to
divide, separate, to
do, to
doing
dog
do over again, to
donkey
"dorowa" cakes

kuni
tsuriha
tabe
hikulu
ushamine
bi
pore
mini
mana
hibwa
lukichi
hɛjanke
upeta
kale
ibwa
wi
uwaka

D

damage, to
dance
danger
darkness
day
days of week :
Sunday

biche
tsoha
itibiri
utsuntsumi
awe (pl. *tsuwe*)

alahadi ruwe (and so
on as in Hausa with
word *ruwe* as suffix)

draw out, to
dream
drink, to
drinker, toper
drinks (fermented) :
palm wine
guinea corn beer
mead (honey wine)
millet beer
drive out, to
drum (generic)

kale
ibwa
wi
uwaka

makofa
matso
ubetso
ubuza
bushi
ukwokwo (pl. *tsukwo-*
kwo)

day after to-morrow
day before yesterday
dead person
dead person
deaf person
deaf and dumb person
death
debtor
debt
deceive
delay, to
deliverance
denial
depart, leave, to
dependant, ruled class
depose (chief), to
depression, hollow
deriding
descend, to
despise, to
destroy, to
deviate, stray, to
deviation

bore
iromachita
(see "corpse")
ukimo
ubebe
rio, riwo
umokando
imoka, rimoka
rishiki
tetane
inshibi
ukasare
yə
ukaka
butene
ubotso
inminji
chikahi, girane
re
biche
kabe
arujija, arujita, kabu-
nche

drum (small)
drum (very large)
dung
dunghill
dwelling place
dyeing

hikuhito
gunguru
chibini
ujuji (from Hausa)
uɛɛtaka
inpiya

E

diarrhoea
die, to
different
difficult
difficulty
dig, to
dig up, to
diligence

ufalo
wi (he died : *hi wi*)
imbiya, imbiya biya
wuya
rotso
kukuno
mashe
inganekhi

eagle

ear
early morning
earth
east
eat, to
egret
either . . . or
elephant
embrace, to
end (of anything)
end, finish, to
enter, go in, to

hidamaji, hisagala
kwaka
uto (pl. *tsuto*)
chichipa
uche, luche
mwaho
re, tame
ubelbela
ko . . . ko
hilela
poki
upiraka (pl. *tsupiraka*)
nuhi
tsune

enter upon, to
erase, rub out, to
European

evening
evil
evil person
eye
eyebrow

F

face
fall down, to
family
farm
farmer
fat
father
father of house
fear
female (of animals)
female slave
fill, to
fine, thin, soft
finger

finish, to
fire

fireplace
first
fish (generic)
fish, different varieties :

(Hausa *karaya*
,, *gargaza*
,, *yauni*
,, *bunsurunruwa*
,, *giwan ruwa*
,, *balli*

fish curing
fisherman
fist
flay, to
flatulence
flint
flood (of river)
fly

tofa
yehi
weta (pl. *beta*) (lit.
red)
hiturwi, *turwi*
inbita
ubita
anini
agirra (pl. *tsugirra*)

achu
cheni
iyali
atsuma (pl. *tsutsuma*)
utsumahe
uhemmi
uto (pl. *bato*)
tondo
meta
hinnu, *yinnu*
ataheriba
mibi
larususu
yekita (pl. *ekita*),
hekita (pl. *ekita*)

mungbwe
udarimi (see also "man
male")
alabe
ruboyə
hishə (pl. *ishə*)

hibokə
hipiri
hishebirə
hipunaka
hishepuho
hikwa
wanda
urihikə
rikuntə
pure
meso
ukebunda
mommopuha
hiyə (pl. *iyə*)

follow, to
food
fool
foolishness
foot
ford
forget, to
forehead
foreskin
forest
fowl
fragment
fragment (of pot)
francolin partridge
fresh
friend
friend
friendship
from
from out of
fry, to
Fulani
furrow

gate
gaze, to
get, find, to
get up and come, to
get well, to
ghost, spirit
gift, present
girl

give, to
gladness, joy
glass
glutton
go, to
go bad, to
go out, to
go round, to
going round, encircling
goat
God

¹ This should probably read *babbi*.—[C.M.D.]

wama
riban riye (thing to
eat)
ulako
tsulako
ukana (pl. *ikana*)
apahita
puteche
ritubu
uhutu (pl. *tsuhutu*)
uzugu
hitaluko
rike
ukirmo
hitona
ribeshe
mubane
ulo, *mulo*
hinubi
pə
lu . . . pə
uto
uPalata (pl. *baPalata*)?
hira

G

anu (pl. *tsunu*)
kirri
buki
yuni
nambushire
hishi
inpasa, *tsupasa*
ubi dono (pl. *babba*)¹
dono
pe, *pye*
mazungə
ukirihito
upenukami
no
same
uche
runi
inruni
hipepa
wirə, *wurə*

goose	<i>ape</i>
gourd spoon	<i>hilolo</i>
gown	<i>hitogo</i>
grandchild	<i>wabe</i> (pl. <i>babe</i>)
grass	<i>tsupwa</i>
grave, burial place	<i>ribuka, abuka</i>
gravel, small stones	<i>igasa</i>
grazing	<i>innamba</i>
great, the great	<i>lakamlakami</i>
great departed (ancestors)	<i>owohochi, bowohochi</i>
greatness	<i>ukami</i>
greediness	<i>rikongo</i>
greetings	<i>barabe</i>
grind, to	<i>lare</i>
ground nut (Hausa : <i>gujiya</i>)	<i>agona</i> (pl. <i>tsugona</i>)
„ Hausa : <i>gyadda</i>)	<i>agona reshe</i>
grow thin, to	<i>nuni</i>
gruel	<i>upata</i>
guinea corn	<i>tsuriya</i>
guinea fowl	<i>hichokucho</i>
gullet	<i>ulahaka</i>
gums (of mouth)	<i>agahu</i>

H

hair	<i>tsukena</i>
hairstressing	<i>pikki</i>
hammer	<i>ridemo, ademo</i>
hamlet	<i>utunga</i> (pl. <i>itunga</i>)
hand	<i>utahe</i> (pl. <i>tsutahe</i>)
handle	<i>uyahika</i> (pl. <i>tsuyahika</i>)
hang, to	<i>molehe, lohe</i>
happen, to	<i>lakache</i>
hare	<i>himu</i>
harpoon	<i>hikoba</i> (pl. <i>ikoba</i>)
haste	<i>iraira, eche</i>
hatch, to	<i>ulalashite</i>
Hausa man	<i>uGana</i> (pl. <i>baGana</i>)
hawk, kite	<i>hikisa</i>
head	<i>hitamo, rishita, ashita</i>
headdress	<i>impikki, hikuta, impi-</i> <i>kahi, ridoka</i>
head dresser	<i>upikaka</i>
hear, understand, to	<i>me</i>
heart	<i>hitsumu</i>
heat	<i>ulata, inlata</i>

heavens, sky	<i>rira</i>
helper	<i>upitaka</i>
hen-coop	<i>rikuta, ubuku</i> (pl. <i>iluku</i>)
henna	<i>ulare</i>
here	<i>dipi, pi, diya</i>
hide, skin	<i>unwa</i> (pl. <i>tsunwa</i>)
hide, to	<i>wahe</i>
hiding place	<i>riwahita</i>
highwayman	<i>uburi</i>
hill	<i>rema, ema</i>
hillock	<i>indaadagi, tsudadagi</i>
hindquarters	<i>attitupu</i>
hippopotamus	<i>heme, iyeme</i>
hit, to	<i>womi</i>
hoe (Hausa : <i>galma</i>)	<i>ridonokoma</i>
„ (Hausa : <i>hauya</i>)	<i>rikoma, akoma</i>
„ (Hausa : <i>dundurusu</i>)	<i>ukata</i>
hold, retain, to	<i>ape</i>
hole	<i>uluku</i>
hole (artificially made)	<i>waka</i>
hole (in wall)	<i>riaka</i>
hollow	<i>ussa</i>
honey	<i>chinu</i>
hoof	<i>ukotso, akotso</i>
hook (fish)	<i>hiro</i> (pl. <i>iro</i>)
horn	<i>rihe, ahe</i>
hornbill	<i>hishafa</i>
horse	<i>hiroko</i>
hospitality	<i>sucha</i>
hot season	<i>ubakana</i>
household, compound	<i>uwa</i> (pl. <i>tsuwa</i>), <i>lepe</i> , <i>tsupe</i>
householder	<i>uwando</i>
how ?	<i>la ?</i>
hump	<i>rihulu, ahulu</i>
hump back	<i>uhulundo</i>
hunger, famine	<i>rome</i>
hunter	<i>uluburika</i>
hunting	<i>luburi</i> (he went hunt- ing : <i>u no luburi</i>)
husband	<i>me</i> (pl. <i>bame</i>)
hut	<i>ukulu</i> (pl. <i>tsukulu</i>)
hyena	<i>hirukunji</i> (pl. <i>irukunji</i>)

I

<i>inni</i>
<i>iraira</i>

in (time)	<i>ta</i>	lick, to	<i>ribichi</i>
in, inside	<i>la pə</i>	lie	<i>tsubwalo</i>
increase, to	<i>pirra</i>	liar	<i>ibalukumi</i>
indigo	<i>ubaba</i>	lie down, to	<i>hini, hini pomu</i>
inheritance	<i>agado</i>	life	<i>mipa, tsupa</i>
instructor, teacher	<i>uparika</i>	light, to	<i>tsuhe</i>
iron	<i>ukoma</i> (pl. <i>ikoma</i>)	light fire, to	<i>uhulo</i>
island	<i>hirwa, irwa</i>	lightning	<i>hi, ihi</i>
itching	<i>makursa</i>	like as	<i>hurwa</i>
in-law (relations in law)	<i>rimena, bamena</i>	lion	<i>ukəkə</i> (pl. <i>tsukəkə</i>)
		lip	<i>ribobe, ibobe, hibobe</i> (pl. <i>ibobe</i>)
	J		
jackal	<i>hikarambuki</i>	little	<i>so</i>
jealousy	<i>ripə</i>	liver	<i>rinuhe</i>
journey	<i>mena</i>	lizard (Hausa : <i>tsaka</i>)	<i>hiyapala</i>
jump, to	<i>usupi</i>	lizard (monitor)	<i>hintu</i>
		lizard (house)	<i>hikakato</i>
	K	load	<i>itsube</i>
kicking	<i>insubi</i>	lock, to	<i>insware</i>
kick, to	<i>subi</i>	locust	<i>hiyo</i>
kidney	<i>ibipallapalla</i>	locust-bean tree	<i>ulo</i> (pl. <i>tsulo</i>)
kill, to	<i>ungwi</i>	loin cloth (female)	<i>higətə</i> (pl. <i>igətə</i>)
killing, murder	<i>mungwe</i>	loofah	<i>tsuhe</i>
knee	<i>ukumu</i> (pl. <i>tsukumu</i>)	look at, to	<i>kirə</i>
knife	<i>rigulla, agulla</i>	loosen, untie, to	<i>bolune</i> (he untied the load : <i>u bolune tsu- nbe</i>)
know, to	<i>nape</i>		<i>inbuluni</i>
	L	loosening	<i>rimi</i>
last year	<i>iro</i>	lose, to	<i>bane</i> (he was lost in bush : <i>u bane la po pə</i>)
late, to be	<i>pihe</i>	lose, be lost, to	<i>mache</i>
laughter (silent)	<i>murekiche</i>		<i>wache</i> (pl. <i>baché</i>)
laughter (loud)	<i>iyeku</i>	love, like, to	<i>ulabuke</i>
laziness	<i>inshanshando</i>	lover	<i>pomu</i>
lazy person	<i>ukunumi</i>	lunatic	<i>saribina</i>
leak, to	<i>inchi</i>	lying down, at rest	
lean upon, to	<i>kyache</i>	lying on back legs up (of animal)	
learn, to	<i>rihankachi</i>		M
learned man	<i>umalami</i>	madness	<i>labuke</i>
leather	<i>unwa</i> (pl. <i>tsunwa</i>)	maggot	<i>ikwe</i>
leather loin cloth	<i>utalo</i>	magician	<i>udabo</i>
leatherworker, tailor	<i>atachikka</i> (pl. <i>wata- chikka</i>)	mahogany	<i>ubite</i>
	<i>nene</i>	maize	<i>amasarə</i>
leave, allow, to	<i>yu</i>	make, do, to	<i>mini</i>
leave, depart, to	<i>koruma</i>	make into lump, to	<i>gulote</i>
left	<i>hikako</i>		
leopard	<i>ukutu</i>		
leper			

man (generic)	<i>undo</i> (pl. <i>bipa</i>)	multitude	<i>shəshə</i>
man (male)	<i>undo darimi</i> (lit. "man fire"), <i>udarimi</i> (pl. <i>badarimi</i>)	murder	<i>mungwe</i>
		murderer	<i>ungwaka, bungwaka</i>
manure	<i>muto</i>		N
mare	<i>hiroko hinnu</i>	nail (finger)	<i>wutekuku, chitekuku</i>
"mari" hook (for captur- ing crocodile)	<i>tsushingiri</i>	naked person	<i>umahando</i>
market	<i>achika</i> (pl. <i>ichika</i>)	navel	<i>hipulo</i> (pl. <i>ipulo</i>)
marriage	<i>apunu</i>	needle	<i>hibere</i> (pl. <i>ibere</i>)
marry, to	<i>pohi</i>	negative, not (used with verb)	<i>kita, kata</i>
marsh	<i>ukwo</i> (pl. <i>tsukwo</i>)	neglect, to	<i>munipa</i>
master of house	<i>tondo</i>	neighbour	<i>uiji</i> (pl. <i>baiji</i>)
mat, floor	<i>mwapa, apa</i>	new	<i>lacha</i>
mat (of marsh grass)	<i>ushinga</i> (pl. <i>ishinga</i>)	news	<i>alabari</i>
mat shed	<i>ufalaka</i> (pl. <i>tsufalaka</i>)	net fishing :	
mean, miserly person	<i>ribitando</i>	(Hausa : <i>taru</i>)	<i>hikuno</i> (pl. <i>ikuno</i>)
means of ascent, ladder	<i>unonika</i>	(Hausa : <i>homa</i>)	<i>uhoma</i> (pl. <i>tsuhoma</i>)
measure	<i>himudu</i> (pl. <i>imudu</i>)	(Hausa : <i>gura</i>)	<i>ugula</i> (pl. <i>tsugula</i>)
measure, to	<i>neshe</i>	Niger river	<i>arira</i>
meat	<i>tsale, rifolo</i> ¹	night	<i>akipo</i>
medicine	<i>peta</i>	nomad	<i>uyukə</i> (pl. <i>bayukə</i>)
medicine (for wrestling)	<i>uteke</i>	North	<i>uchu, maro 'eha</i>
meet, to	<i>kachi</i>	nose, nostrils	<i>olo</i>
message, commission	<i>intapame</i>	nothing	<i>lakata</i>
messenger	<i>utsumana, utsumono</i>		O
millet (various kinds)	<i>tsuriya, hakiko, apun,</i> <i>itabwo</i>	occupation, trade	<i>tsulaga</i>
milk, to	<i>pini</i>	oil	<i>mancha, manche</i>
millstone	<i>riname</i>	old, to be	<i>kampi</i>
miss, to	<i>iluki</i>	old man	<i>udarinkami</i>
mix, stir, to	<i>puchi</i>	old woman	<i>udonokami</i>
month	<i>upetane</i> (pl. <i>ipetane</i>)	old, ancient, of old	<i>alomine</i>
moon	<i>upetana</i>	on, upon	<i>la . . rirə, ye . . rirə</i>
mortar	<i>utsu</i> (pl. <i>tsutsu</i>)	onion	<i>riabasa</i>
mosquito	<i>ibwo</i>	on purpose	<i>taganga</i>
mother	<i>uwinu</i>	opener, key	<i>lakubundo, tsukubando</i>
mount, to	<i>none</i>	orphan	<i>uwobi</i> (pl. <i>bawobi</i>)
mouse, rat	<i>hingwi</i>	outrun, precede, to	<i>lake</i>
mouth	<i>unu</i> (pl. <i>tsunu</i>)	overcome, be too much for, to	<i>lagulehi</i>
mouthful	<i>ritone</i>	one who overcomes	<i>uguluhu</i>
move, to	<i>lamure</i>	overcoming	<i>guluhu</i>
movement	<i>mula</i>	overthrow, to	<i>wepe</i>
much	<i>tari</i>	owner	<i>ubando</i>
mud	<i>tsulopo</i>	owl	<i>hirimo</i>
muliebria	<i>hirichiya</i> (pl. <i>irichiya</i>)	ox	<i>hinna</i> (pl. <i>inna</i>)

¹ Also *riholo*, see Text, —[C.M.D.]

P

paddler	<i>wataka</i>
pain	<i>inrune</i>
palm tree	<i>hiwo</i> (pl. <i>iwo</i>), <i>hirimo</i>
palm rafter	<i>ukolo</i> (pl. <i>ikolo</i>)
parent	<i>umatsundo</i>
pass, to	<i>tsune</i>
path, road	<i>uchina</i>
patience	<i>tamalla</i>
pawpaw	<i>ukobusu</i>
peep, peep into, to	<i>lukame</i>
penis	<i>lizumba</i> , <i>azumba</i>
pepper	<i>igwagwo</i> , <i>igbago</i>
persuade, to	<i>tare</i>
pestle	<i>hive</i> (pl. <i>iwe</i>)
pick up, take up, to	<i>huni</i>
picking up	<i>inpini</i>
pierce, to	<i>ke</i>
plant, transplant, to	<i>lubi</i>
plenty	<i>insope</i> , <i>lapirki</i>
plenty, owner of	<i>lapirkindo</i>
plunder, take by force, to	<i>lumi</i>
poison (fish)	<i>amuto</i>
poison (spear, arrow)	<i>mone</i>
pole, paddle, to	<i>make</i>
pole for onion farm	<i>ukaka</i>
irrigation	
popularity	<i>mayan mapuho</i>
porch (Hausa: <i>zaure</i>)	<i>uheko</i>
porcupine	<i>hijanbi</i>
pot (large)	<i>udanda</i> (pl. <i>tsudanda</i>)
pot	<i>hikaso</i> (pl. <i>ikaso</i>)
pot (water)	<i>utihito</i> (pl. <i>itihito</i>)
pot	<i>ridibu</i> , <i>adibu</i>
pour out, to	<i>hwi</i>
pour out drop by drop, to	<i>teri</i>
praise (self)	<i>ishikunta</i>
press, to	<i>gore</i>
prevent, to	<i>reche</i>
priest	<i>wahunu</i> (pl. <i>bahunu</i>)
prisoner	<i>ubopaka</i>
prophet	<i>wira tsumono</i> (lit. God messenger)
prostrate	<i>tsukubo</i>
prostration (i.e. pouring earth over head; called <i>afi</i> in Hausa)	<i>macha</i>

pull, to
pull, pluck, to
push aside, to
put, place, to
python

quarrelling, loud
argument
quiver
quickly

rags
raider
rain
raise up, to
ram
ram's beard (worn by
wrestlers)
ransom
rasp
rat, mouse
razor
reach, arrive at, to
receive, to
rectum
red
red sorrel

Race Names :

European (lit. red)
Borgu man
Dukku man
Hausa man
Kambari man
Nupe man
Sarke, Sorko
Shanga man
Songhay man
Yoruba man
Yawuri man

refuse, reject, to
relation
remember, to
repair, to
reply, to

nangi
pi
teme
pe
*hioa*¹ *hinnu*

Q

hiringa

hikiro
ira ira

R

uyansa
ubakahire
ubula
yuri
hitamu
makusa, *tsukusa*

inshibi
ugangaho
hingbi
hitana (pl. *itana*)
lame
unkwe
hiripe
weta
tsanaha

weta (*beta*)
uzo (*bazo*)
usare (*basare*)
ugana (*bagana*)
ukuku (*bakuku*)
umopa (*bamopa*)
ugatawani (*bagatawani*)
ushinga (*bashinga*)
usinwe (*basinwe*)
ayagi (*bayagi*)
ureshe (*bareshe*)
she
mubane, *babane*
chibone
mokye
tone

¹ See variant spelling under "snake"—[C.M.D.]

sleepers	<i>ulahochita</i>	steel	<i>ukoma peta</i> (lit. iron "medicine")
slime	<i>tololo</i>		<i>tebiche</i>
slip, to	<i>dare</i>	step, tread, to	<i>udanga</i> (pl. <i>tsudanga</i>)
small	<i>ulukana</i>	stick, staff, rod	<i>ute</i>
small pox	<i>ubakana chibba</i> (lit. dry season sickness)	stick for food	<i>kore</i>
	<i>inpurehe</i>	stir, to	<i>ugalo koma</i> (lit. stirrup iron)
swell, to	<i>atsupi</i>	stirrup	<i>ripo, apo</i>
smith, to	<i>riu</i>	stomach	<i>utare</i> (pl. <i>tsutare</i>)
smoke	<i>indare</i>	stone	<i>alabe</i>
smoothness, slipperiness	<i>hyo'a, yo'a</i>	stones, supporting	<i>bone</i>
snake	<i>higuluka, tsuguluka</i>	stop, meet, to	<i>ti</i>
snore	<i>mazumi</i>	stop a leak, to	<i>rikafita, tsukafita</i>
soap	<i>ahunda</i>	stopper, covering	<i>ubulawitu</i>
socket	<i>babane . . babane</i>	storm	<i>amusulo</i>
some . . others	<i>ubi</i> (pl. <i>babbi</i>)	story	<i>ucha</i> (pl. <i>bacha</i>)
son	<i>ariho</i> (pl. <i>iriho</i>)	stranger, guest	<i>hirere</i>
song	<i>uSinwe</i> (pl. <i>baSinwe</i>)	stratagem	<i>rikiki</i>
Songhay, man of	<i>lame</i>	straw hat	<i>ukalo</i> (pl. <i>tsukalo</i>)
sourness	<i>magiraha</i>	stream	<i>tsukissa</i>
south	<i>ruwi</i>	strength (physical)	<i>tsukissa peta</i>
sow, to	<i>we</i>	strength medicine	<i>nambuchita</i>
speak, say, to	<i>hijima</i> (pl. <i>ijima</i>)	stretch out, to	<i>akunu</i>
spear	<i>utsulo</i> (pl. <i>itsulo</i>)	strife	<i>me</i>
spear (fish)	<i>utabaka</i>	strike, to	<i>ukissane</i> (pl. <i>bakissane</i>)
spearman, bowman	<i>dandarkassa</i> (pl. <i>tsuda-darkassa</i>)	strong man	<i>alakita</i>
spider	<i>inpiiki</i>	stronghold, cave in rocks	<i>hionabi, yonabi</i>
spinning	<i>ukaka</i>	stropanthus shrub	<i>dukunji</i>
spirit (dodo)	<i>ulare</i> (pl. <i>tsulare</i>)	stumble, to	<i>ukumo</i> (pl. <i>tsukumo</i>)
spleen	<i>sabe, piski</i>	stump	<i>hehi</i>
split, to	<i>intakata</i>	suck, to	<i>riki</i>
spoiltness, marredness	<i>ashima</i>	suffice, to	<i>unwe</i>
spot	<i>achokali</i> (pl. <i>ichokali</i>)	sun	<i>ubukihine</i>
spoon	<i>wekunika</i>	superior, best	<i>pike</i>
spoon (measuring)	<i>shime</i>	support in open hand, to	<i>laha</i>
sprout, to	<i>lukame</i>	swallow, to	<i>shibichi</i>
spy, peep, to	<i>subuchi</i>	swear, to	<i>game</i>
squat, to	<i>subuto</i>	sweep, to	<i>ugamaka</i>
squatting	<i>tetala</i>	sweeper	<i>woza</i>
squeeze, press, to	<i>hizulokami</i>	sweetness	<i>ridankali, adankali</i>
squirrel	<i>yeli</i>	sweet potato	<i>muché</i>
stand still, to	<i>hiochiche</i>	swell, to	<i>umutaha</i>
star	<i>wuhira</i> (vide "rob, steal": <i>hi</i>)	swelling	<i>rengi</i>
stealing, theft	<i>ritsulone</i>	swing, to	<i>hisan</i> (pl. <i>isan</i>)
steam	<i>ukoma</i> (pl. <i>tsukoma</i>)	sword	<i>igbedibede</i>
steel, iron		syphilis	

T

tail	<i>wina, ina</i>
tailor	<i>watache</i> (pl. <i>batache</i>)
take, to	<i>huni</i>
take !	<i>hurina</i>
take up, to	<i>mukye</i>
take out, pick out, to	<i>bekune</i>
talk	<i>wopo</i>
tall	<i>rielu</i>
tanner	<i>uloninika</i>
teach, instruct, to	<i>pari</i>
tear, to	<i>paluke</i>
tears	<i>alagachi</i>
tell, to	<i>shikki</i>
termite, white ant	<i>hikasa</i> (pl. <i>ikasa</i>)
testicles	<i>riteba</i>
thanks	<i>mai'e</i>
that	<i>udanna</i>
thatch	<i>tsuhe</i>
then, thereafter	<i>ye</i>
there, over there	<i>dari</i>
there is	<i>yepi</i>
these	<i>badanna, idanna, tsu-danna</i>
they	<i>ba, i, tsu</i>
thief	<i>wuhi, bahi 'or bihi</i>
thirst	<i>wiru, wuru</i>
this	<i>udena, hidena, adena</i>
this year	<i>ihe</i>
thorn	<i>uti</i> (pl. <i>tsuti</i>)
those	<i>badena, hidena, idena</i>
thus	<i>puno</i>
thread	<i>hijeri</i>
thrice	<i>utatso</i>
throat	<i>ukokuto</i>
throbbing (of pulse)	<i>risubito</i>
throw, to	<i>shinga</i>
thunderbolt	<i>ubangba</i>
tick	<i>hiopa</i>
tickling	<i>atakulkuli</i>
tie, to	<i>bupi</i>
tie layers of grass, to	<i>pichi</i>
till	<i>hari</i>
time when	<i>asadipina</i>
to	<i>ri</i>
tobacco	<i>asara</i>
to-day	<i>ribure</i>

together, together with
tomb
to-morrow
tongue
tooth
touch, to
town
town, walled
trade, business
trader
trap (birds, game, etc.)
tree (generic)
trespasser
tribal marking
trousers
truth
"tsamiya" tree
tuft of hair (Hausa : <i>zanko</i>)
turban
"tuwo" (boiled food)
twice
twins
upon
us
useful
useless
useless person
village (small)
virgin
voice
vomit
vomit, to
vulture
wait, to
waiting
walking
war

<i>baki, baki ta</i>
<i>ribuka</i>
<i>maiya</i>
<i>rilume, tsulume</i>
<i>anuhi</i> (pl. <i>tsunuhi</i>) ; <i>ri-shika, ashika</i>
<i>duki</i>
<i>abu, chibu</i>
<i>ubino</i> (e.g. Bin Yawu-ri : <i>ireshe bino</i>)
<i>sulaga</i>
<i>ufatake</i>
<i>uhibe</i> (pl. <i>tsuhibe</i>)
<i>achan ; uche</i> (pl. <i>tsuche</i>).
<i>uzanbando</i>
<i>ukwoko</i>
<i>ukumbe</i> (pl. <i>ikumbe</i>)
<i>mono</i> (it is true : <i>mone</i>)
<i>tsutsamana</i>
<i>hikuta, tsukuta</i>
<i>ahuni</i> (pl. <i>tsuhuni</i>), <i>akokolo</i> (pl. <i>tsukokolo</i>)
<i>ripia</i>
<i>urisa</i>
<i>bahinandu</i>

U

<i>ye rira</i>
<i>tsu</i>
<i>urino</i>
<i>maha</i>
<i>umahando</i>

V

<i>hiteche</i>
<i>urika</i> (pl. <i>barika</i>)
<i>ukokuto</i> (pl. <i>ikokuto</i>)
<i>mwuya</i>
<i>kuka</i>
<i>sagalla, isagalla</i>

W

<i>pare</i>
<i>inpare</i>
<i>ruboka</i>
<i>rialla</i>

warrior, soldier	<i>uwalukuni</i>	wild, savage	<i>ukuni</i>
wart hog	<i>hishishibə</i>	wind	<i>nwiya, tsuwiya</i>
wash, to	<i>fahe</i>	wink	<i>animimiki</i>
washing	<i>mure</i>	wink, to	<i>miki</i>
wasp	<i>higina</i>	witchcraft	<i>asamu</i>
water	<i>mommo</i>	wizard	<i>ufufune</i>
watering place	<i>ribirə</i>	woman	<i>udono</i>
weary, to	<i>rohe</i>	work	<i>umono, rimono</i>
weariness	<i>roha</i>	workman	<i>umonondu</i> (pl. <i>bamo</i> <i>nundu</i>)
weaver	<i>uchaka</i> (pl. <i>bachaka</i>)	working tool or instru- ment	<i>umonomini</i> (pl. <i>tsumo</i> <i>nomini</i>)
weaving	<i>incha</i>	world	<i>aduniya</i>
weeping	<i>ruwe</i>	wrestler	<i>unipuni</i>
weigh, to	<i>neshe</i>	wrestling	<i>anipə</i>
welcome !	<i>barabiho !</i>	writing	<i>saba</i>
west	<i>tirwi, turwi</i>	wrong	<i>alahi</i>
what ?	<i>be ?</i>		
what ?	<i>em baya ?</i>		
where, whence	<i>pə, po</i>		
whispering	<i>imminji</i>		
white	<i>upuhu</i>	yam	<i>alo</i>
white earth	<i>matu</i>	Yawuri man	<i>uReshe</i> (pl. <i>baReshe</i>)
white man	<i>uweta</i>	yellow	<i>uhuniringa</i>
wicker basket	<i>risaka</i>	yesterday	<i>itta</i>
widow	<i>ugupu, tsumo</i>	youth	<i>tsulama</i>
widowhood	<i>tsumotsundo</i>		
wife	<i>huye, hubweya ; iye</i> (pl. <i>baye</i>)		

Y

INKISHAFI—A TRANSLATION FROM THE SWAHILI

By R. ALLEN

INTRODUCTION

Inkishafi ("it is revealed") does not seem to us at the first glance a very suitable title for a disquisition on the commonplace, all men die: the glory of this world passes away; even though it is followed by a few verses on the horrors of Hell. But think of it in this way: Death is certain; that is one of the few truths on which we all agree; indeed we might say that it is the only truth on which all men do agree; yet, if we consider our lives, what place does that universally accepted truth take in them? How many of us live as dying men, so that what we say and do is what we should say and do were Death present to us as a reality? Now it is certainly true to say that when we do become conscious of Death as a reality, that consciousness strikes us as a Revelation; it comes upon us, and we are overwhelmed by it. And so it is with the consciousness of the transitoriness of the world, which is only an aspect of Death. When that too comes home to us we feel it as a revelation. None of us has the depth of feeling which led Gautama to become the Buddha, but still in our measure we feel it as a Revelation.

In some the effect is, Death is certain; Nothing matters: soon, at any moment, all our life is ended, nothing matters. In some the effect is: Death is certain, let us enjoy ourselves now as much as we may: the moment is ours, let us use it for our pleasure. In some it produces a more serious effect. Death is certain, what then? Has Death something to do with Life, and Life with Death?

Our author is one of these last: he connects Life here with Death, and Death here with Life hereafter: he looks for a judgment: he sees that what men are here and do here affects that judgment: he believes in a future good for the righteous, he believes also in punishment for the evil-doer.

The sin on which he lays stress is Pride, that human pride which leads men to live as sufficient

for themselves, forgetting, or ignoring God. It is this pride that he calls rebellion. It issues often in acts of oppression, or injustice, but it is not upon these acts that he lays the greatest emphasis it is the state of mind which really terrifies him, the rebellious heart, for it is this rebellious pride which lands men in Hell.

I think that it would be a mistake to imagine that the title of the poem refers wholly, or even mainly, to the Revelation of Hell as though this were the Revelation, whereas the certainty of death and the transitoriness of this world's glories is no more than a matter of common observation. I have already expressed my conviction that the realization of Death is a Revelation to those who receive it.

Our author addresses his own soul, using every argument in this power to persuade himself of Death's terrible reality; but he is surely writing for others, hoping to persuade them to take the commonplace of Death seriously; for, if they do that, they will be in the right way to receive the illumination which reaches, not only to the thought, but to the springs of feeling and will in men.

How does he do that? We can see throughout the poem the appeal to Fear which is one of the most powerful human emotions. He is what men used to call a "Hot gospeller," and everyone knows that Hot gospellers won many converts by sheer terror. He is convinced that if men will take the commonplace of Death seriously and see the intimate connection which binds this life to the life hereafter, they will be preserved from concentration on this life: they will know that sins which they commit here meet a terrible retribution there: they will fear to sin: they will be humbled and escape from that sin of Pride which he sees as the great sin.

But there is more than that in this poem. Everyone knows that a commonplace is illuminated not by mere repetition or restatement so much as by the form in which it is stated: what in one

man's words is trite is in the words of another something startling, amazing, astounding.

Now Mr. Hichens cites Sheik Mbarak Ali Hinawi as telling the name of one learned scholar who "used always to carry a copy of the Inkishafi in his pocket" and that of another who "knew the whole poem by heart and was in the habit of reciting verses from it during conversations and lectures." There is then in this poem some great power in the use and arrangement of words.

That power Europeans cannot easily grasp. They can seldom feel Eastern forms of expression: they can know the dictionary-meaning of the words; but they are often surprised and taken aback by the effect which a certain collocation of words, or sounds, produces on an Eastern mind.

Still we can dimly grasp at it. I read these verses to a lady who did not understand the Swahili words, and even in my halting reading the sound of the lines produced strong impression upon her: the effect seemed to be like that produced upon some people by a musical composition. I myself see here and there lines and verses which I feel to contain more than the actual words; but I am distracted by the effort to find English words for those words. Ah! there lies the snag.

Imagine for a moment a man who had never heard a bell toll trying to translate the sentence, "Ask not for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee," to people who had never heard a bell toll. Whatever he might say, his words could have for them none of the significance which those words have for us. Suppose that he himself had heard a bell toll, or was capable of feeling some of its meaning, how could he reproduce the solemn tolling sound of those words. Would it not be impossible.

We need not, then, be surprised that Eastern readers so often declare that English translations of their poems do not represent their real meaning. I have heard a scholar protest that Fitzgerald's translation of Omar Khayyam, though no doubt excellent and attractive English, did not express the real meaning of Omar's verses.

In addition to this insuperable difficulty of sound, some common words change their force in changed surroundings. Let me offer only one

simple example: our author speaking of the great Trump, that terrible Trump, which at the Last Day strikes the whole world with terror, says that it has a sound like that of an ass. That to us is comic. We know more or less what we mean by a trumpet braying, but the word ass is associated in our minds with foolishness: we cannot say that a trumpet makes the sound of an ass. To our author and his readers a sound like the sound of an ass was a terrible horrifying sound: the monstrous Beast which in Moslem tradition is to appear as a sign of the Last Day has the voice of an ass. There was nothing silly or funny about the voice of an ass.

Again this poem is full of curious twists and cunning alliteration which suggest to us artificiality and when we call a writing artificial we generally mean unreal: we mean that the author seems more concerned with his tropes than with his subject, and we suspect that he is ready to sacrifice truth for an epigram. When his subject is a serious one, that revolts us. But consider: Artificiality does not necessarily imply unreality, or an exhibition of cleverness: it does not follow that, because a man is carefully choosing his words and arranging them in a pattern designed to create a particular impression on the mind of the reader, he is therefore more concerned with his words than with his subject and is not profoundly serious about it.

Look again at the sentence "Ask not for whom the bell tolls; it tolls for thee." That sentence is essentially artificial: every word is carefully chosen and put into its place, in order to produce one impression upon our minds. In a sense it might be said to be untrue. We can easily imagine a matter-of-fact person answering, Nonsense! that bell tolls for a definite person who is dead: I am alive and well: how can anyone say that it tolls for me? Yet that artificiality is very serious, that apparent untruth brings home to us a profound truth. Now I suspect that many of the verses in this *Utenzi* are designed to produce some such effect on the minds of its readers and do in fact produce some such effect on sensitive minds.

Nevertheless Skeik Mbarak Aliy Hinawi, who very kindly read this Introduction, remarked to

me that he thought that the majority of Swahili readers were more interested in the beauty of the language than in the profound truth which I emphasized.

That remark impressed me deeply. I began to wonder whether my incapacity to appreciate properly the beauty of the language might not have helped, rather than hindered, my struggle after the deeper meaning. I began to wonder whether many English readers of John Donne's words may not be more impressed by the tolling of the bell in them than by the conclusion "it tolls for thee." In other words, they may be so impressed by the beauty of the language that they miss the profound truth contained in it. Beauty in the expression of truth may be a snare both to the writer and to the reader, distracting the mind from, rather than drawing it to, the profound truth which it ought to reveal.

This author also startles us occasionally by putting down in plain language truths which we seldom state in that form: For instance, after describing the desolation into which the houses of man's glory and luxury had fallen, he says "If you call me a liar, go and see for yourself." It strikes us as absurd that he should imagine anyone questioning or disputing such obvious facts; but is it so absurd? I have already suggested that, when we look at the lives of men, or consider our own, we might easily conclude that we do not believe; we do not speak and act as if we did believe that truth. We are not then really in a position to object that, when our author suggests that his soul denies his facts, he is not saying what our lives proclaim, though we do not like it said and call it absurd when it is said.

Seeing all these difficulties of sound and sense, I am conscious that any translation that I can make must inevitably again and again mislead us into the impression that the poem is a dull repetition of commonplaces pointed with equally dull and commonplace illustrations, when in truth it may be that 'the bell is tolling.'

It may be said then, If that is how you feel about your capacity to translate this *utenzi*, why attempt it? The answer is simple: Like the author of the poem I am writing for myself and it is good

for me to set down the thoughts presented to me: however much I may miss, I gain something; for often we can hardly go astray.

Take for example the closing verses. The author says at the beginning that he proposes to end his poem with peculiarly large and lustrous pearls. I cannot easily believe that this is the end of the poem as he designed it, but these verses are certainly one side of the clasp of which he spoke. Of the seven Hells of Islam he concentrates on four: the characteristic feature of them all is blazing fire and he describes the fire in each. How? As I said before I am utterly incapable of appreciating, still less of trying to reproduce in English, the effect which the sound of his words may have on an educated Swahili ear; but the rise in his description of the several fires can be expressed in English. That rise seems to me most remarkable.

In the first hell he simply suggests a restless raging flame: in the second he speaks of a flame within a flame, a fire inside fire: in the third he says that if fire were cast into that fire, it would itself catch fire, as though fire itself were tinder to that fire: in the fourth he says that the sound of the fire would utterly destroy a human being, the sound itself containing a devouring heat. There he breaks off. I cannot help thinking that when he had written that last verse he felt that he had reached the utmost limit: another word added could only be bathos.

So I write for myself, feeling what I can, saying what I can. Let who will read it: he may reap a richer harvest than I; only he must be prepared not merely to skim it over, but to weigh it, to meditate on it, to let the imagery of these verses sink into his mind, and to consider whither they lead him: he must pay heed to the repeated exhortation, Attend, Look, Listen, O my soul what are you doing? Bow down, Humble thyself. Whoever will do that cannot read without profit: he may get that Revelation which not only enlightens the thought but reaches to the springs of feeling and will, even from such a poor version as mine.

The text from which this translation is made is that of Mr. W. Hichens, published by the Sheldon Press, omitting, however, his punctuation and some of his capitals.

I have relied much on his Vocabulary, and sometimes on his notes.

REVELATION

1. With God's Name I begin in constructing
my poem
I write first 'The Merciful,' then 'The
Compassionate'
2. His praise I put first, lest some scholar should
ask
Do you stint us His praise? 'Tis a blot un-
exampl'd
3. Praise ends in light, it shines like a lamp
when mercy and peace we pray for Mu-
hammed.
4. Next for his kindred and the companions
The four of great name; may God's mercy
rest on them.
5. Lord who granted our need, give thy
Prophet thy mercy
who came and thy Oneness revealed,
Lord of men.
6. My service completed, praise and prayer
ended,
let me set forth the plan which I have in my
heart.
7. I propose then to fashion a chaplet of pearls
lustrous pearls shining to set at its ends
8. A clasp I will fashion pure pearls on each side
'Revelation' I call it, for sin's darkness left
me.
9. The darkness of ignorance shadows the light
If one would walk rightly repentance re-
moves it.
10. So saying my soul I would warn, you are
held
in thle lusts of this world, in Satan's be-
guilements
11. Soul, why not awake? Hi! what is it that
cheats you?
Can't you tell it me plainly that I may admit
it?
12. Soul, what do you look for? You have sense
to make choice
This world is deceitful, why follow its ways.
13. 'Tis a dangerous sea full of sharp pointed
rocks
By each loss he who rides it knows Here is a
rebel.
14. 'Tis a water hole shallow where lies a young
bull:
he charges the comer, none tastes of the
water
15. Or when the sun shines, see the mote in its
ray
he who tries to snatch at it finds nought in
his grasp.
16. Or again, when the sun is at noon see the
mirage
crying Here there is water, the thirsty man
runs
17. When he gets there he finds but the blâze of
the sun
he gains nought but trouble and endless
regret
18. This world that you love is one mass of
corruption
full of hardship and trouble, meanness
and poverty.
19. 'Tis a corpse, go not near it, not men but
dogs love it
Do you strive with the dogs, you, a man
of good sense!
20. Last and worst fault of all is a very sore
trouble
It kills many prudent striking them by
blows.
21. Gaining the world and charmed with its
pleasures,
Now many, struck down, lie gnawing their
fingers
22. By regret for it tortured, death's noose
comes upon them
and the world blots them out, crying, Start
now, Be off.
23. It cries Hi! 'tis the start, put an end to your
dallying
Here, I witness, you practised your trade of
grandeeship.

24. Fate's arrow strikes, in their flesh it plays
havoc :
No one gapes, no one says, what is this that
has happened ?
25. They yield up their lives, the Depriver of
Pleasure conducts them :
none hums-and-haws, or declines to go
with him.
26. Though these terrors befall, warned, take
you no warning
When cease you from pride ? Speak : your
end I shall hear.
27. By my beard, o my soul, you turn from my
counsel
For this world you sell your hereafter : you
choose to be swindled.
28. Mark well what I say : see a lamp in the
wind
Blown out you can't stop it : a moment, 'tis
gone.
29. Or see, in a clearing, fire crackling in brush-
wood
Rain falls on it, 'tis quenched ; your blowing
is vain
30. Bow down o my soul, be warned, I entreat
you
Lest Satan hereafter see his likeness and
seize you.
31. In this world what goodness attracts you to
love it ?
neither it nor its servants abide. Were
you master, what then ?
32. Was not Solomon, God's servant, of men
and jinns master ?
yet it banished and robbed him. How, if
another ?
33. How many boys have you seen full of health
in their homes
now earth house is their home, a niche in a
pit.
34. How many rich have you seen, men bright
as the sun
Arms of war they commanded, gold and
silver they stored
35. All men made way, their path cleared before
them,
- As they walked their heads bent and their
eyes looked profound
36. Arms and neck they moved gently crowds
behind and before :
their lodging was sacrosanct guarded by
soldiers :
37. Lamps of crystal and brass illumined their
houses :
their nights were like day bright with glori-
ous beauty.
38. They used ware of Cathay, each cup a
masterpiece ;
vases of crystal shone in the centre
39. Teak and ebony rails, by the Lord God the
Wealthy
in orderly rows supported their curtains
40. Their halls and their chambers resounded
with mirth,
the chatter of servants, the laughter of slaves.
41. When to rest they were minded, some
soothingly rubbed them
Some fanned them and some sang them
gently to sleep.
42. They had exquisite couches, on them soft
quilts
Two sets of green pillows embroidered with
cord work.
43. Rich fabrics folded were over their beds
with scents they were sprinkled, attar and
sandalwood.
44. For all their grand wealth they were sent on
the Journey,
their chamber the tomb, dust and rubble
their bed.
45. Now they lie in a span without carpet or
mattress ;
their limbs bear the mark of the tombs
narrow pressure.
46. Their softness is roughened, pus and blood
ooze,
from nose and mouth worms ; their beauty is
gone.
47. They become food for insects which prey on
their bodies,
ants and termites destroy them, snakes and
serpents coil round them.

48. Their bright faces are darkened like bears or baboons,
torn are their skins, the bones and flesh shrunk.
49. Their brilliant rooms empty, bats hang from the rafters,
no whispers, no calls, their beds spiders' webs.
50. In their niches for porcelain nestle young birds
owls hoot in their chambers, and birds of ill omen
51. Eaglets perch on the rails, doves bow and coo and flutter their wings, and jungle birds preen.
52. Cockroaches whirr in their chambers, in their halls crickets chirp ;
Stilled the buzz of their levées, the hall is a rubbish heap.
53. Their courtyards with thickets of brushwood are tangled
men shrink from their doors at the silence and darkness.
54. Do you say, You're a liar, go there and listen,
Call, no one replies except only the echo.
55. Still taking no warning, nor roused by such haps :
Listen my soul and mark well what follows.
56. Now here I would ask you, answer me plainly
Where are your ancestors ? Where can I visit them ?
57. Where is Ali bin Nasir, where Abu Bakr,
Where Idarus and Muhadhar, show me the way.
58. Listen to me : They went down the descent,
they are laid in dark chambers which no light illumines
59. Where are the Lords who crowded their salons ?
They lie in the dust and the grave-boards press on them.
60. Where the gallants of Pate, those lofty bright faces ?
Buried in mould, their glory departed.
61. There walked lords and viziers attended by soldiers :
- For them the earth gaped, death's fetters fast bind them.
62. Judges led men aright, by the Book judging justly ;
Yet they answered their names and joined all whom they cited
63. Ah ! where are the lovely ones, rest for the eyes
Who satisfied passion ? Doves flown away.
64. The lot of all these the pen of God wrote
You will certainly share it : or is yours in your hands ?
65. Learn your place, cease from pride, humbly hold to the right
Others were saved, save yourself lest you burn in Jahimu
66. Know the day when the earth and the heavens are dissolved
When sun and moon cease, lest eternal fires blast us.
67. When men's hearts are ablaze, their heads bursting asunder,
show me where you will run that I may find refuge.
68. Think, when argument ends, every deed brought to light,
on his knees the oppressed cries, O Lord judge between us.
69. Judge my oppressor, give your heaviest sentence :
The Almighty decrees, As he did let him pay.
70. The payment is made not in silver or gold,
but good deeds are handed from wronger to wronger.
71. If he has no good deeds, with a bit in his mouth
he is loaded with sins, Gee up ! Carry these for him.
72. Soul think on Jahannam its fetters and bonds
When calls the Rewarder, ' Here, Lord ' it answers.
73. When sounds the last trump with a terrible bray
in Ape's form quails the sinner, tongues of fire all round him.
74. Be assured in Hawiya eternally blazing
the rebel with conflict is fed without rest

75. Sairi's fire, understand, is fire hot within fire
boilings and smoke, snakes and serpents are there.
76. Know too Ladha's fire, fire cast in catches fire,
You see flesh peel off and joints burst asunder.
77. Hutama then know, it burns with its sound, it breaks bones boils flesh, brains it foully lets out.
78. Here ends the poem. I add one last word :
Whoever will follow and keep to this path will make a good end Lord we pray for thine aid.
79. Lord grant thy mercy to him who composed it
and to the singer who wrote this last word accept Lord the verses, may they land them in Paradise.

NOTES

On Stanza 2 :

...I do not understand this verse. To us it suggests that his praise is due only to convention.

On Stanza 9 :

I understand that there are three thoughts (1) that the darkness of ignorance (i.e. godlessness) shadows the light (2) that whoever would live rightly must repent (3) when he repents the shadow is removed, (or perhaps, when the shadow is removed, he repents).

The author seems to begin with the removal, then to assert the shadow, then the consequence, (or cause) of its removal in repentance.

On Stanza 11 :

I should prefer ' You don't speak, I will show it : its shape I know well ' ; but I am very uncertain whether the Swahili will bear that translation.

On Stanza 42 :

Is ' green pillows ' or ' cushions ' simply a recollection of Koran LV. 76, or has it some further significance.

On Stanza 55 :

Read : *piluka na ona*.

On Stanza 66 :

For ' heavens,' read v.l. ' skies.'

D'UN ROYAUME AMPHIBIE ET FORT DISPARATE

Par J. ROBIN

(Essai sur l'ancien royaume Sénégalais du Walo)

Il existe des documents sur l'histoire du Walo.

Le Chef Yoro Diaw, qui fut l'un des premiers d'investiture française, avait rédigé des notes en français, qui ont été publiées et commentées tour à tour par H. Gaden (*Revue d'Ethnographie et de Sociologie*, Paris, 1912), et R. Rousseau (*Bulletin du Comité d'Etudes de l'A.O.F.* Paris, 1920).

D'autre part, des indigènes lettrés en arabe, tels qu'Amadou Wade et Amadou Lamine Touré, de Dagana, et Samba Diène Bara Gaye, de Tiénou, ont consigné par écrit dans des " *tarikh* " les connaissances qui se transmettent de père en fils dans les familles de griots. On y trouve d'interminables généalogies, des légendes, des anecdotes épiques et divers incidents de la chronique du pays.

La lecture de ces documents abondants en détails intéressants, pittoresques ou variés, laisse cependant l'esprit sur sa faim. On est avide de comprendre l'organisation du royaume et on ne la comprend pas. On ne saisit pas le pourquoi des choses. Aucun fil d'Ariane ne permet de parcourir raisonnablement le labyrinthe. Aucune idée générale ne se dégage de la chronique, qui permette de l'ordonner ou d'en classer les faits.

Nous allons nous risquer à quelques hypothèses pour combler cette lacune. C'est avec les données familières de la géographie et de l'histoire que nous allons essayer d'éclairer la lanterne.

I. LE MILIEU

On se fera du milieu physique une idée exacte d'après la carte du Sénégal au 1/200.000.

Nous sommes en zone sahélienne. Il tombe rarement plus de 300 m/m d'eau au cours de la saison des pluies (Juillet, Août, Sept.) C'est dire que le pays se situe au point de vue climatique à l'extrême limite septentrionale des cultures. Les précipitations atmosphériques ne suffisent d'ailleurs pas, la plupart du temps, à obtenir une

récolte normale des champs qui sont dans leur dépendance.

C'est le réseau hydrographique qui a permis l'établissement de populations sédentaires et assuré leur subsistance. Celui-ci est très dense.

Si l'on considère que le Walo s'étend de l'Océan Atlantique à l'Ouest, à une ligne Nord-Sud qui passerait par le village de N'Dierba, dans la vallée du Sénégal, à l'Est, on s'aperçoit que le pays n'est autre que l'ancien delta du Sénégal. C'est un pays essentiellement amphibie. Le réseau d'irrigation naturelle est tel qu'on pense à un lacs d'anastomoses.

Il s'ordonne cependant suivant deux grands axes :

le fleuve Sénégal qui coule d'abord grossièrement Est-Ouest, puis s'infléchit jusqu'à la mer en prenant une direction Nord-Sud parce qu'une langue de sable tente sans cesse de s'opposer à son accès à l'océan.

Une courbe Sud — Sud-Ouest Nord — Nord-Est, sensiblement parallèle à la ligne du rivage actuel de l'Océan et, comprenant, au Nord du Sénégal, le lac Khomak (Kayar pour les Toucouleurs et Rkis pour les Maures) ; — et, au Sud du Sénégal, le Lac Dier (appelé par les Français lac de Guiers).

L'ensemble des villages sédentaires permanents qui constituaient le royaume du Walo sont répartis sur ces deux axes, à peu de choses près. Tous les villages sont sur le bord de l'eau ; c'est un fait que le nom même de Walo évoque. S'il sert en effet à désigner une entité politique distincte, — s'il sert encore à désigner les gens du Walo ou Walo-Walo qui sont la seule population de langue wolof des rives du Sénégal, — il désigne surtout une qualité de sol. On appelle walo les terres argileuses de la vallée du fleuve, qui sont inondées en période de crue, par opposition au " *dieri* ", terres sablonneuses, dunaires et sèches

que seules les pluies d'hivernage arrosent. Ce sont ces terres qui formaient l'assise territoriale du royaume.

La pêche, l'agriculture et, accessoirement, la cueillette sont les trois procédés par lesquels les Walo-Walo vivent du fleuve.

Le fleuve et les marigots adjacents sont très poissonneux. Certains de ces derniers se vident complètement à la décrue et il suffit alors de les barrer par un filet pour se procurer du poisson en abondance pendant une courte période. En temps ordinaire, tout le monde pêche avec de petits filets individuels à mains, qu'on tend ou qu'on ferme à volonté grâce à deux manches de bois.

L'agriculture se pratique principalement après le retrait des eaux de la crue annuelle, sur les terres (walo) que vient de libérer, après les avoir engraisées de limen et rendu humides, l'inondation. Ces terres sont exploitées d'une manière intensive ; elles se prêtent à de profitables ensemencements en gros mil, maïs, haricots. D'autre part, les berges du Sénégal sont couvertes la majeure partie de l'année de jardins où patates, haricots, manioc, coton, tomates et condiments divers prospèrent et constituent un appoint appréciable aux ressources familiales.

Enfin, la cueillette, à laquelle on a surtout recours aux époques de disette, se pratique aussi au moment du retrait des eaux, dans les innombrables marigots. Les principales denrées alimentaires qu'elle procure sont les graines de nénuphars et le riz sauvage.

On ne peut terminer ce bref exposé sans signaler que la colonisation européenne a provoqué des modifications de l'économie et de la démographie qui n'ont pas été sans entraîner une perturbation profonde de l'habitat, dont l'historien n'a pas à tenir compte ici. Une grande ville a été créée à St. Louis, qu'il a fallu approvisionner en eau potable. Les marigots de Djos, de Mengey, de Lampsar, de Gorom, de Kassak ont été utilisés à cet effet et barrés. La salinité et le régime de ces marigots s'en sont trouvés changés, et la faune et la flore transformés. La quasi-totalité de la population qui vivait sur leurs bords et tirait d'eux ses ressources a dû émigrer.

De même, un projet de mise en valeur rationnelle du lac Dier a eu pour premier stade le barrage du goulet qui lie ce lac au Sénégal et que les riverains nomment la Tawe. Cette mesure n'est que provisoire et le prélude à l'aménagement d'une vaste zone d'irrigation et de culture à haut rendement. Pour l'instant cependant, il en est du lac Dier comme des marigots des abords de Saint-Louis. Le budget du paysan rivarain est constamment déficitaire : il doit aller périodiquement s'employer à Dakar pour faire face à ses charges, quand il ne s'est pas définitivement expatrié.

II. LE PEUPLEMENT

A l'époque la plus reculée qu'envisage la tradition, le pays aurait été peuplé de gens primitifs vivant dans des trous et dont les principales activités étaient la chasse et la pêche. Cette peuplade aurait notamment formé, à proximité de l'emplacement actuel village de Bokkol, mu village nommé Sedor. Nos informations sur elle s'arrêtent là.

La région fut plus tard le théâtre d'immigrations en provenance du Nord (Gannar). Les traditions en distinguent trois : la première, composée d'éléments Sose, Serer et Peul inextricablement mêlés ; la seconde, composée de Wolof qui, laissant les Peuls en place, auraient repoussé Serer et Sose vers le Sud mais sans toutefois les déraciner du Walo où l'élément Serer notamment serait resté important ; la troisième est celle des Maures, qui se sont arrêtés à la vallée du fleuve et n'ont refoulé personne au Sud mais ont tout de même joué un rôle dans la Genèse du Walo actuel.

La première fait l'objet d'une légende dont l'humour est assez savoureux.

Après la destruction de l'empire de Ghana par les Almoravides, les Serer, les Sose et les Peuls, refusant de se laisser islamiser, auraient émigré sous la conduite des Peuls et gagné l'Ouest du Territoire de l'actuelle Mauritanie, où ils se seraient installés à proximité de l'Océan. Un beau jour, Serer et Sose remarquèrent des traces de chameaux dans les environs de leur village et comprirent par là que les Almoravides les poursuivaient et avaient repéré leur situation. Les fêtes furent consultés et une nouvelle émigration fut décidée. Un oiseau fut capturé, déplu-

mé et attaché par un fil à la patte à l'arbre central du village ; à une branche du même arbre fut suspendu un " Kalamba ", petite calebasse qui est utilisée comme unité de mesure : les traces des chameaux furent recouvertes avec des calebasses, et Serer et Sose s'en allèrent dans la nuit, laissant aux peuls, qui étaient absents à ce moment-là, le soin de comprendre la raison de leur départ. Les Peuls comprirent effectivement dès leur retour, après avoir examiné les traces de chameaux qui avaient été conservées intactes grâce aux calebasses qui les recouvraient, le motif de l'exode : le kalamba et l'oiseau déplumé étaient le symbole des tributs à payer et de la taille des habitants. Ils suivirent Serer et Sose dans leur exode vers le Sud.

Peuls, Serer et Seso restent indissolublement associés dans les légendes qui se rapportent aux sites d'anciens villages. Il en est ainsi en ce qui concerne le site de Diallowali, situé à trois kilomètres à l'Est de Dagana, sur lequel les Notes Africaines ont publié une note dans leur numéro de Janvier 1945. Il en est de même des sites de Gandong, à proximité du village de M'Billor, de Khew, à quelques kilomètres au Nord de Dagana sur la rive droite du fleuve, de Tiedde et de N' Dör sur la rive droite.

A vrai dire ce sont surtout les éléments Peul et Serer qui semblent étroitement liés, en dépit ou en raison de leur genre de vie distinct, l'un pasteur et nomade, l'autre agriculteur et sédentaire. Une tradition locale attribue aux Peuls une origine berbère ; ils descendraient des Maures Zenaga, et leur ancêtre aurait été mis au ban de cette tribu pour avoir eu un enfant naturel à la suite d'une mésalliance ; le mot " Fula " signifierait " jeté " en dialecte " tandakha ". Leur présence dans le pays a été constante depuis une époque reculée. Des cultivateurs noirs et sédentaires portent des noms Peuls, tels Sey (du Peul " Sy) ou Dial (du Peul " Diallo ") ; la famille princière des M'Bodj fait venir son nom du Peul " Ba " ou " Bo ". D'autre part, le clan Peul des Ururbe, dont les terrains de parcours sont situés à l'Ouest du lac Dier, se prétend rattaché par les femmes à la famille Serer des Bul.

Le marigot de Djös et la contrée qui l'entoure,

au Nord-Est de Saint-Louis, porteraient un nom Serer. La plupart des clans du pays portent d'ailleurs des noms Serer, mais particulièrement ceux dont l'habitat est situé à l'Est du Lac Dier. Ainsi des Diaw (du Serer " Tiaw "), des Fay, des Gay, des Dios, des Boy, des Sek, des Diey ou Gey, des M'Beng, des N'Gom, des N'Diuk. La famille des Sise est au contraire une des rares à porter un nom d'origine Sose.

Les Wolof viendraient eux aussi du Nord (Gannar). Relativement peu de clans—il est vrai qu'ils sont importants—portent des noms purement wolof, et on les rencontre surtout dans l'Est. Ce sont les Fall (village de Gaya), les Diopa, les N'Diay, les niâg (Dagana). Ils se seraient répandus particulièrement dans le Cayor et le Djolof, d'ou certains sont revenus au Walo ; il en est ainsi des Niâg. On ignore comment il a pu se faire qu'ils aient donné leur langue à l'ensemble du pays.

Les Wad sont le principal clan d'origine Maure ; Wad viendrait du Maure " Wahad " ou " Awat ". Les Han sont d'origine touleur. Les Diak et les Yag sont particuliers au Walo et on ne sait à quoi les rattacher. Les Sar sont d'installation récente ; ce sont des membres du clan des pêcheurs du Fouta.

Peut-on hasarder l'hypothèse que le milieu physique, dont le caractère amphibie rend difficiles les communications et les poursuites à cheval ou à chameau, a assuré la pérennité d'un peuplement Serer en lui permettant de mieux se cramponner au terrain ?

III. L'ORGANISATION POLITIQUE

L'organisation politique était effroyablement compliquée ; on doit s'y attendre après avoir passé en revue les données du milieu et du peuplement, comme nous l'avons rapidement fait. L'unité et l'équilibre intérieur du Walo n'ont pu être maintenue que par des compromis perpétuels dont tout le mérite revient au clan des Diaw.

Ces Diaw pourraient être les derniers vestiges de la dynastie Peule des Dyago, dont Gaden écrit : " Les Dyago sont les plus anciens chefs dont le souvenir se soit conservé, tant au Fouta

qu'au pays wolof. Ils auraient été Peuls et blancs, et le clan qui se nomme Dyag (Diak) ou Dyao (Diaw) au Sénégal, Tyao (Tiaw) chez les Sérères, et Dya au Fouta, leur devrait son origine. Sauf quelques unes restées nomades comme par exemple les Peuls Dyaobé, les familles de ce clan se sont sédentarisées et fondues dans la population noire. . . Les chefs Dyago auraient apporté avec eux l'industrie du fer et la culture du gros mil." Il existe des Peuls Dyaobé installés depuis très longtemps dans le Walo, et cela nous rappelle singulièrement la légende des Serer, des Sose et des Peuls fuyant ensemble devant les Almoravides. Quoi qu'il en soit, Serer ou Peul, la tradition est nettement affirmative sur le fait qu'à l'époque Serer le pays était commandé par un "laman" ou maître de la terre dont le nom de "saint" (clan) était Diaw.

Le Seb-ak-Bawar. Tout au long de la chronique du Walo nous retrouvons les Diaw à propos d'un organisme qui a été le pivot du royaume au cours des siècles, sous le nom de Seb-ak-Bawar.

Le mot "Bawar" est couramment usité par les Wolof pour désigner une association ou une assemblée. Ici, il s'agit de l'assemblée plénière des trois premières familles nobles du pays. C'est la filiation utérine qui confère la noblesse, comme chez les Serer, comme chez les Peuls, comme les Messoufa de Walata observés par par Ibn B Battouta, ainsi que le remarque Gaden. Les trois premières familles nobles en l'espèce sont supposées remonter à une nommée Farmata Diawandu qui fut l'épouse "laman"; elles se définissent comme les descendantes de Yoro Diogomay, de Yasin Paté et de Bakka Bul ou simplement Bul, qui étaient toutes trois des petites filles de Farmata Diawandu.

C'est dans le Bawar que se recrutait les Seb. Ces derniers, outre qu'ils devaient appartenir au Bawar et par conséquent ressortir par filiation utérine aux "cases" de Yoro Diogomay, de Yasin Paté ou de Bul, devaient encore faire partie du clan des Diaw par leur père. Les Seb étaient au nombre de trois : le Diawdin, le Diogomay et le Malo. C'étaient de hauts dignitaires dont les fonctions étaient fort importantes et sur l'initiative desquels le Bawar pouvait être convo-

qué pour procéder à la nomination ou à la déposition du Roi ou "Brak".

Gaden donne du Seb-ak-Bawar une définition étymologique qui ne concorde pas avec les renseignements que nous avons recueillis nous-même. Le mot "seb" n'exprime à notre connaissance en wolof aucune autre idée que celle d' "électeur". Il y a dans chaque village des "seb", ce sont des notables, le plus souvent descendants de ceux qui accompagnèrent le fondateur du village, et ils ont le pouvoir de choisir parmi les descendants de ce dernier celui qui, au décès d'un chef, est le plus apte à prendre sa succession à la tête du village. Les trois "seb" du Seb-ak-Bawar sont les Seb ou les Electeurs, qu'on doit écrire avec une majuscule, parce que ce sont eux qui sont préposés avec le concours du Bawar, au choix du Brak ou chef suprême de tout le Walo.

Outre leurs fonctions électorales, les Seb assumaient des parts importantes du pouvoir exécutif. Le Diogomay était maître des eaux, le Diawdin maître de la terre et le Malo trésorier du royaume.

Là encore, les informations que nous avons recueillies ne corroborent pas absolument les renseignements donnés par Gaden. D'après les Cahiers de Yoro Diaw, l'un des premiers brak, Barka Bo, ayant à réprimer des insurrections, dit en Peul à un membre du clan Diaw "Diogo mayo tiens le fleuve !" et à un autre "Diogo din, tiens la loi !" L'étymologie de Diogomay qui nous a été donnée est bien celle-là, mais non celle de Diawdin. C'est "Diogo dow, tiens la terre !" qu'aurait dit Barka Bo. Et "Diogo-dow" serait par la suite devenu Diawdin par transposition en wolof ; un terme semblable, "diawri", désigne d'ailleurs dans cette dernière langue le conducteur des travaux champêtres sur les champs du "bur" ou chef.

A l'appui de cette interprétation, on peut remarquer que le Diawdin, membre du Seb-ak-Bawar, successeur et dépositaire des droits des anciens "laman", était réellement maître de la terre puisque le Brak lui-même, comme Gaden le rapporte d'après Yoro Diaw, était tenu de payer à son avènement une coutume ou "dyok" de di

captifs au Seb-ak-Bawar " à titre de location de la terre ".

Enfin, le partage d'attributions entre un maître de la terre et un maître d'eaux était une forme d'adaptation de l'Etat aux contingences géographiques locales. Il répondait avec beaucoup de souplesse au caractère amphibie du territoire. Le Diogomay percevait les taxes sur la pêche et la navigation, et se chargeait des affaires relatives au fleuve, tandis que le Diawdin prenait à son compte l'administration des biens fonciers de la communauté et les affaires relatives à la terre.

Le Brak. Le premier Brak fut un étranger au pays nommé N' Diadian N'Diay. Sa légende tient une place éminente dans le folklore wolof et les chroniqueurs en donnent des versions très voisines. D'après elle, c'est lui qui aurait créé, en rassemblant des éléments épars, le peuple Wolof et l'aurait doté d'une langue originale et nouvelle. Ce personnage fabuleux ayant quitté au bout d'un certain temps le Walo pour le Djolof, n'appartient en propre au Walo comme son demi-frère et successeur Barka Bo ; c'est cependant lui qui est à l'origine de l'institution des Brak du Walo. Il est très probable que l'instauration de cette forme de monarchie étrangère ait à l'origine la nécessité de trouver un arbitre aux querelles de paysans et de pêcheurs avides, âpres et susceptibles comme le sont restés les Walo-Walo.

Le Brak était nommé par le Seb-ak-Bawar ou, plus précisément, par les Seb, après accord du Bawar. Ses Electeurs étaient néanmoins liés dans leur choix par certaines obligations.

Le Brak devait obligatoirement appartenir par son père au clan des M'Bodj, dont le nom dérivé de Ba ou Bo, prouverait une lointaine origine Peule.

Par sa mère, le Brak devait encore, de façon impérative, appartenir à l'une des trois familles Loggar, Djös ou Tediék.

Les généalogistes s'accordent sur l'origine de ces trois familles. Les Loggar seraient la postérité de la Mauresque Yumayga Wad ou Wahad, que le deuxième Brak, Barka Bo, fils bâtard d'un captif Peul et d'une princesse Toucouleur nommée Fatimata Sall, aurait épousée chez les Kho-

reichite Beni Latgar. Les Djös seraient issus d'une femme Serer nommée N'Doy Demba que Tiaka M'Bar, fils et successeur du Brak Barka, aurait épousée précisément dans le pays appelé aujourd'hui Djös. Les Tediék seraient issus d'une femme que les tiennent pour Peule et d'autres pour Malinké, nommée Yasin Tanor, deuxième femme du Brak Tiala M'Bar.

Nous pouvons voir là des concessions aux voisins agités qu'étaient pour le Walo les Maures, les Peuls ou les Deniyankobé. Le Brak se trouvait toujours être parent ou allié des uns ou des autres, si ce n'est de tous.

Le rôle du Brak était essentiellement celui d'un porte-bonheur et, éventuellement, d'un chef de guerre. Les annalistes sont unanimes à affirmer qu'il ne quittait sa capitale, qui fut successivement N'Diurbel (à l'Est de Rosso sur la rive droite), N'Der et Khuma, que pour prendre la tête des guerriers sur les champs de bataille. En temps de paix, il ne se montrait en public qu'une fois l'an, à l'occasion du Gamou ou fête de la Nativité du Prophète Mohammed ; encore était-ce dans sa capitale ! Il était soigneusement pourvu de biens matériels, et d'alcool, ajoutent les mauvaises langues, par les soins des Seb. Il ne commandait effectivement que les troupes en temps de guerre.

Lors de son " couronnement ", si l'on peut dire, un dignitaire remettait au nouveau Brak les insignes royaux et ceux-ci étaient, rapporte Yoro Diaw, un bouclier, un arc, des javelots et des flèches d'une part, un épi de mil et des semences des diverses plantes cultivées dans le d'autre part. Ces insignes symbolisaient ses attributions et ses devoirs. Il devait être apte et brave à la guerre. Il devait, par un comportement digne, loyal et respectueux des puissances surnaturelles, attirer le bonheur et la prospérité sur ses sujets. " Si tu dévies pas du chemin normal envers tes sujets, tounous donneras toute ta vie ; si tu agis en contre-sens, tu t'attireras le désaccord avec tes Electeurs et, nécessairement, la haine de ton peuple. " Ainsi, d'après Yoro Diaw, disait au Brak le Mip parlant au nom du Seb-ak-Bawar lors de l'intronisation. Le Diawdin disait aussi aux captifs qui formaient la garde du Brak :

“ Tenez bien votre roi ; servez-le bien et connaissez-nous, lui et vous ”.

Si le Walo était ravagé par des guerres malheureuses, la discorde ou la famine, le Brak était considéré comme ayant failli à ce qu'on attendait de lui, déposé par le Seb-ak-Bawar et remplacé. La chronique en cite plusieurs exemples.

Les Kagam. Le Walo était divisé en un certain nombre de fiefs ou cantons qui étaient commandés par des vassaux du Brak appelés Kâgam.

Pour être nommé Kâgam, il fallait remplir certaines conditions, variables suivant les cantons. Le Seb-ak-Bawar examinait les candidatures et le Brak nommait les titulaires avec son accord. Les Kâgam portaient des titres divers. Nous passerons en revue les plus importants d'entr'eux.

Le Kaddj commandait la rive gauche du marigot de Gorom à la Tawe, et résidait à Rosso. C'était un fils ou un neveu du Brak et il devait avoir des titres de noblesse analogues.

Le Bey Lavar commandait la rive droite de Bepar N'Der au marigot de N'Diugar. Il devait appartenir au clan Wad.

Le Bör Lof commandait la région du Lof, soit les rives occidentales du lac Dier.

Le Bör Yok ou Briok commandait les rives orientales du lac Dier de Temev à Alsegu, avec pour résidence Mala ou Foss. C'était un fils du Brak ; il se nommait donc M'Bodj mais n'avait pas forcément les titres de noblesse de son père.

Le Bör Ti commandait la rive gauche du Sénégal de Temey à Belel N'Dendi, limite orientale du royaume. Il résidait soit à Dagana soit à Khuma. Il devait être apparenté ou au Brak ou aux Seb, et être de même nobless.

Le Riket devait être un M'Bodj. Sa filiation utérine était indifférente. Il commandait la rive droite du fleuve approximativement de N'Diugar au lac Khomak, limite orientale du royaume. Il résidait à M'Billor.

Le Baddo contrôlait le Dieri de Siringi à Senobal. C'était un Tiam de sang.

Les berceaux des familles de grande noblesse étaient autonomes. C'est ainsi que le village de Diam ne connaissait d'autre intermédiaire entre lui et le pouvoir suprême que le Serigne Diamo,

qui appartenait à la famille Djös. Le Die-Rôkh, chef du village de Rôkh, du clan N'Diuk et de la famille Djös, était aussi autonome. Les régions de Tungön et de N'Diaw, sur les deux rives du Sénégal, étaient le berceau des Seb et ne relevaient que d'eux.

Le Mâgas, le Diawdin Gâgune, le Betuoe, le Diamal Gâdiel, le Diabu, le Binior, teient gens de moindre importance.

Enfin venaient de nombreux fonctionnaires de la Cour ou agents d'exécution dont le rôle a été étudié par Yoro Diaw et commenté par Gaden.

Ainsi croyons-nous que vécut et se maintint durant plusieurs siècles le Royaume du Walo, grâce à la souplesse, à l'habileté traditionnelle et au machiavelisme des Diaw, héritiers des premiers occupants de la terre.

SUMMARY

There are in existence some historical documents about Waloland, containing picturesque facts but giving no information on the political organisation of that kingdom. This paper is intended to help fill that gap in our knowledge.

The country lies in the extremely dry savannah area, but it is situated in the delta of the Senegal, which has been used for the settlement of people who practise agriculture in the rainy season and fishing in the dry season.

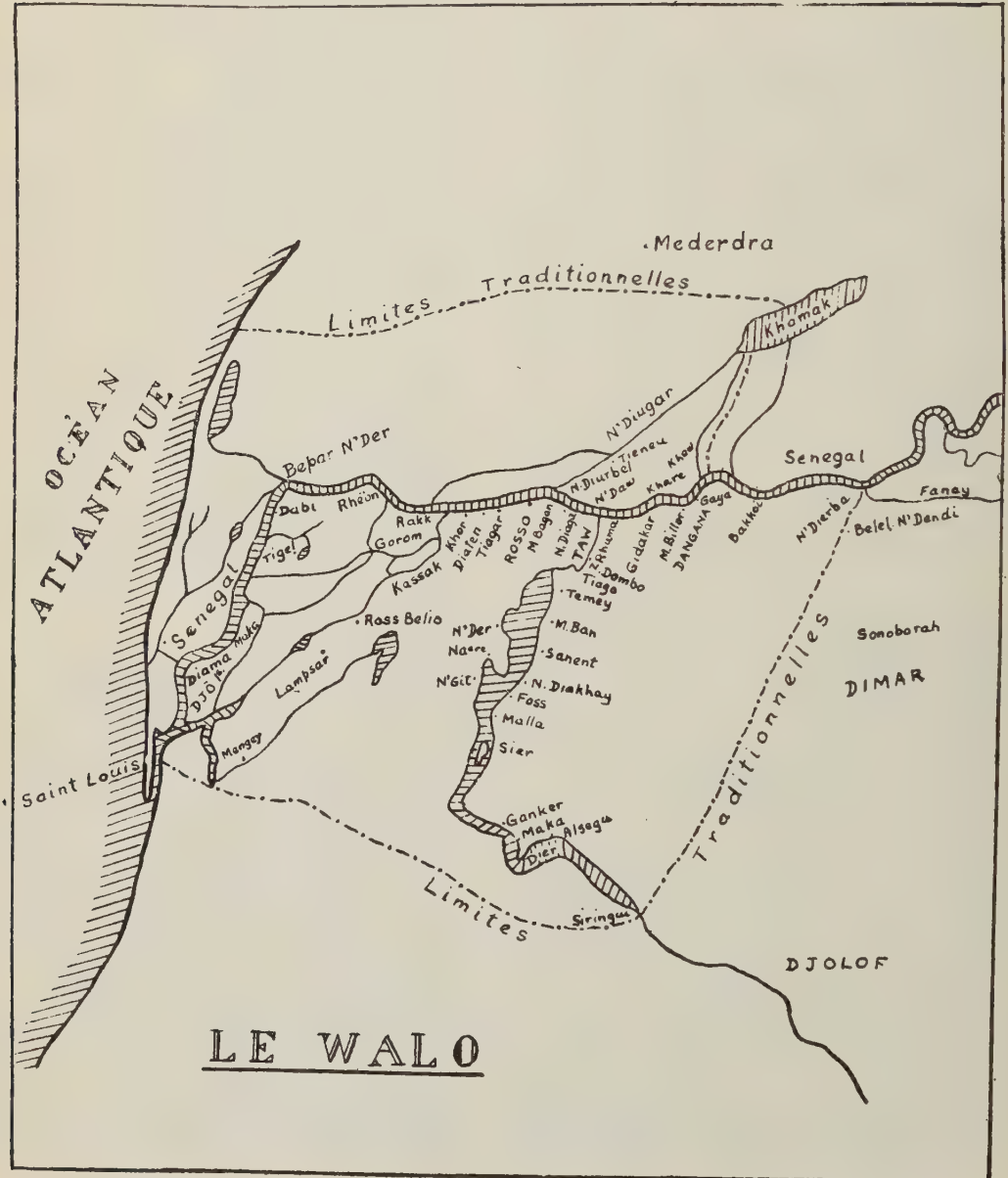
Waloland's history mentions three important migratory movements which crossed the country from North to South. (i) An invasion of communities of Sose, Serer and Tulbe. (ii) They were followed by Wolofs, who while leaving the Tulbe in the country, drove off the Sose and Serer to the South, but without succeeding in exterminating them completely, so that the Serer still remain an important group of the population. (iii) Lastly came the Moors who played an important political role in the genesis of present Waloland, but who left all the settled tribes on their respective spots.

Waloland is ruled by a sovereign, called "Brak," who is a judge in time of peace and who acts as a commander-in-chief in time of war.

The country is sub-divided into a certain number of fiefs which are ruled by vassals of the

"Brak" called "Kagam". The real political power, however, is held by the Seb-ak-Banuar, an assembly of the three leading noble families of the country. This nobility is transmitted by uterine succession. By paternal descent one has to belong to the "Diano" clan. The duties of

the members of this assembly were:—(1) The election or retirement of the Brak or the local chiefs. (2) The supervision of the estates and the economy of the country, as chiefs of the earth and chiefs of the water.



THE TREE CULT IN THE ZIMBAWE CULTURE

By HARALD VON SICARD

The tree cult is met with all the world over. It is still practised by many peoples, although the original ideas connected with it have been lost. It seems never to have been restricted to any special **kind of tree**, primitive man paying attention not so much to the specie as to the size of the tree. On the other hand not only trees, but also shrubs have been venerated, and holy groves take also a prominent place in the religion of many peoples.

The Egyptians used to plant a sycamore tree on their graves and usually the coffins for their mummies were made of the same tree, which was regarded by them as the "tree of life." The Indians venerated in the same way the fig tree (*ficus religiosa*). In Persia, in the teachings of Zoroaster, a holy cypress played a prominent part, and the Assyrians had a sacred tree with cones. In the Bible we meet with many instances of a tree cult practised by the inhabitants of Palestine at the time of the patriarchs (about 1600 B.C.). Among the ancient Greeks there were the Dryades and the myth of Daphne who was transformed by her mother into a laurel tree lest she were embraced by Apollon; and then again the myth of the Heliades who were changed into poplars and larch trees. According to one version of the ancient Nordic mythology man emerged from trees, and in their legends the ash tree Yggdravil represented the universe.

These are just a few instances to show how wide-spread the tree cult has been outside Africa, and in Africa itself it is found practically throughout the whole continent. There does not yet exist any monography about the African tree cult, but valuable material has been collected and classified by the prominent Austrian ethnologist Hermann Baumann (*Schöpfung und Urzeit des Menschen im Mythos der afrikanischen Völker*, Berlin 1936, p. 224-238 et passim). Bauman arrived at the conclusion that the African tree cult is essentially manistic. Particularly drzenes, tamarind trees, wild fig trees, the baobab, the euphorbia

and the bark tree *muyombo* are connected with the cult of the deceased, of the earth and of fertility. The bigger trees serve as burial places, but they are also regarded as the origin of the first ancestors. The tree cult is sometimes combined with the cult of the soil. Sacred trees are also often the place where rain ceremonies are conducted. They are regarded as the protectors of the village and the seat of ancestors. Sacred groves are burial places. There are trees of life, trees of procreation. Some trees are the abode of souls to be incarnated in initiation schools, others symbolize ancestors etc. Baumann's analysis throws, no doubt, new light also upon the tree cult outside Africa.

Unfortunately he has taken practically no notice of the tree cult found in the Zimbabwe culture area. Generally speaking, this area has been vastly neglected also by other ethnologists. In the following I want to draw their attention to the tree cult as it is found in this area, using the material collected from printed sources as well as from oral information.

We begin with some general *linguistical observations*. The word for tree in the different Shona dialects (Korekore, Zezuru, Manyika, *Karanga*)¹ is *muti* (Ur-Bantu: *-ti*; Ronga: *mu-ri*; Bushm.: *hi*—shrub, tree; Nama: *hei*). The word for village or kraal is in Korekore, Zezuru and *Karanga mu-sha*, and in Manyika *mu-i* is sometimes found. The Ndaue word is *mu-xi*, and the Kalanga word (*Note*: Kalanga is spoken in the Western part of S. Rhodesia, bordering on Bechuanaland) *nzi*, *u-nzi* (C. M. Doke: *Comparative Study in Shona Phonetics*, Appendix IV). The Ronga word for village is *mu-ti*.

Now, it is important to remember that the African conception of the idea of a village is radically different from the European. We are mainly thinking of the huts or buildings which together constitute the village, while the African

¹ Spoken in the area under survey.

is thinking of the people living there. (Note : See A. T. Bryant's Zulu-English Dictionary sub *umu-Zi* : kraal, people of kraal, family ; sometimes applied to a whole tribe or nation. Her. *oru-ze*—chief village ; Ga. *azi* : village ; MZ. *mu-nzi*, and compare to this Karanga *ru-dzi*—tribe, and *mu-dzi*—root). I firmly believe that between the two Bantu words for tree and village exists an etymological connection. Our ethnographical study will confirm this. But there are also other reasons which lead me to this assumption. There is for instance the parallel in the Russian language, where *dyévevo* (Pl. *dyerévyá*) means tree, and *dyerévyá* village ! (Note : I don't know, whether the Hungarian *fa*—tree, and *falú*—village points in the same direction. But it should perhaps in this connection be noticed that *gwenzi* in Karanga not only means bush, shrub, but also the female *pubes*. Notice on the other hand the expression *gomo rinamavudzi* (literally : the mountain with hair) meaning (the mountain with trees.)

Among the different species it is particularly the baobab tree that is worshiped in Africa. The Karanga word for it is *mu-vuyu* (Swahili : *mbuyu* ; Senegal : *guye*). The Venda word is *mu-vhuyu*, and Stayt explains it to mean "thick set" (The Bavenda, p. 375). In Karanga the word is also used to designate a kind of spinach (Louw, *Chikaranga Vocabulary*) and I am indebted to the Rev. Harald Thönell, Mnene, for the information that people believe that one must eat of that herb to become stout, and if one wants to become strong or thick arms or legs he should anoint them with the juice of the *mu-vuyu* spinach. *Kuvuya* means in Karanga to come, and the original idea behind the word *mu-vuyu* might be that of coming out and consequently also of procreation. (Note : A specially named, "enormous and well-known" baobab tree is found in the Hartley district. It is called *Sa-nyana*. The origin of the name is obscure, "though it is said to be connected in some way with its appearance, that of a woman enceinte" *Nada* 1943, p. 30.)

Dondo is the Karanga word for a clump of trees, a grove or a forest. *Danda* means now the pole or, according to Mrs. Louw's vocabulary, "a piece or log of dry wood," but originally it

had probably mythological implications, connecting it with ancestor worship and procreation. According to Miss Wernle *utanda* or *mtande* in Nyasaland means "the central post of a hut, and perhaps suggests the idea of a fixed point." (Man 1912 105). Livingstone found the word in the Chikova district on the Zambezi and translated it with "firstborn."

Dzate is a forest of small trees, and Dzata the ancestral home of the Venda north of the Limpopo (Stayt : *The Bavenda*, p. 14). This is said to have been a zimbabwe built of stones. It appears for the first time in Mercator's map of 1541, where it is called Mossata and is placed in the southern part of the Monomotapa kingdom. (Note : Later, it was reproduced in a map edited 1623, and in Marmol's map of 1656 L' Afrique de ill aruwl, 1573,¹ vol. III, p. 113). This is not the place to give the reasons, which have led me to identify Dzata-Mosata with the ruins which only since about a century ago were called Dhlodhlo (Hall, cit. by Miss Caton-Thompson : *The Zimbabwe Culture*, p. 164 (Note : A volume about the history of the tribes between the Zambezi and Limpopo rivers up to about 1800 A.D. is in preparation.) But there is reason to believe that Dzata originally was connected with a chief's fertility cult in the same manner as great Zimbabwe.

From these linguistic observations, which in a general way seem to indicate an ideological connection between the tree and man and fertility we proceed to the cultural and religious aspect. There are many instances which confirm that *sacred trees* have been known and partly still are known among the tribes of the Zimbabwe culture area. I don't think that their veneration originally had anything to do with the medicine obtained from trees and herbs, although these are also called *miti* (Sing. *muti*). Yet, such medicines were known at an early date and probably they soon added to the importance attached to the trees, [Note : In Mac Theal's *Records of South Eastern Africa* the grinded bark of a tree is mentioned, called *made*. It was mixed into water and drunk by accused persons to prove whether

¹ French transl., 1667.

they were guilty or not (vol. II, p. 424; see also Barros, vol. VI, p. 272). A similar custom from our own time is reported from the Tavara area, where the priest (*nanga*) naked approaches a *makombeva* tree. He hits its trunk on the eastern and western side with a *sukusa* (an axe handle), whereupon he throws some grains at the marks "as an offering to the tree (*kupfupira muti*) and then takes the bark required for the trial" (*Nada* 1935, p. 23-25). The expression *kupfupira* is also mentioned by Posselt who states that anybody cutting down a big indigenous fruit tree offers a form of propitiation, *Ndakupfupira*, lest the spirit of the tree molest him. A *hata yovuswa* is placed on the stump, a stone put on it, and the man offers apologies to the tree for cutting it down (*Fact and Fiction*, p. 109). But the same terminus technicus, *kupfupira*, means also to give a consoling present to the mother of a black child sacrificed for rain (Bullock: *The Mashona*, p. 392), and here again the connection between the tree and the fertility cult is established. And when the rains fail, people go with their presents to the Mwari priests in the Matopo hills, asking for rain, and the offering of their gifts is again called *kupfupira mvura*.]

A tree which has been specially named must not be touched. Gocedze, an ancestor of Chief Mukangajwi in the Bikita district, promised about five generations ago to marry his daughter to the man who could climb a very high tree, which afterwards got the name *Muda vamoyo* (he who loves the chief's daughter). This tree was not touched even after it had fallen down in 1917 or 1918 (*Nada* 1932, p. 20). (Note: Notice the connection between marriage and tree!)

A very interesting tale has been recorded by Merensky, who heard it in 1862, when making an attempt to reach the Zimbabwe ruins. He writes: "Strange stories are connected with these old monuments. No animal is killed near them. And if you would try to do so, it would say: 'Let me live, don't kill me!'" A man was once hunting elephants. When he found the many elephants near the ruins he could not resist the temptation to chase a big male among them which had only one exceedingly big tusk. He fired,

but the beast was not wounded. The man got angry and said: 'I must get it, even though I should shoot away my last bullet.' At last he had no bullet left and the shooting came to an end. Then the big elephant ran to the hunter, beat off his leg and hang it on a tree nearby. If somebody now wants to break a twig from that tree, the twig calls out: 'Don't break me'." (Wangemann: *Geschichte der Berliner Missionsgesellschaft*, Berlin 1877, vol. IV: *Die Berliner Mission in Bassutolande*, p. 96).

Among the Karanga it is a general custom to place a little garland of grass, *hata*, upon the stump, *hunde*, that remains standing when a big tree has been cut down, while some appropriate words of style are mumbled (*Rhod. Sc. Ass. Proc.*, vol. XI, part III, p. 166), and Junod tells us that among the Tonga it is considered dangerous to cut the trunk of any large tree. Should you want to cut down such a tree, the master of the forest must first offer a sacrifice to the spirits of his ancestors who have been buried there (*Life of a South African Tribe*, vol. II, p. 19.)

One of my informants, the teacher Amos Ntuli, told me that he many a time had seen a *hata* on a tree stump and that a stone used to be placed inside it. The original meaning of the custom is now lost (Note: Bullock mentions the custom of putting a *hata* with a stone on it in the fork of a tree as a precaution when one has a far distance to walk (*The Mashona*, p. 247)). Perhaps it was originally in miniature the same fertility symbol which is impressively represented in the oval wall of the Zimbabwe Temple and its conical pillar. (Note: See also Stayt's illustration, Plate VI, showing circles engraved on a monolith in a Venda kraal.)

The same combination is also found in the *mutoro*, the sacred enclosure of the Karanga. It consists of the *rushanga* (*shanga*—reeds), i.e. the enclosure proper, built of poles, and in some instances it has a tree in its centre. The *mutoro* is the place for rain offerings (see Leo Frobenius: *Erythräa*, pp. 199-201). Only the *muhacha* or *jakata* tree is used as the central tree of a *rushanga* (*Nada* 1936/37, p. 33). It is a fruit-bearing "plum"-tree and one of the biggest trees found

in S. Rhodesia, with a high trunk and an immense top. It can often be seen in the Karanga gardens, since it would never be cut down (Bullock, p. 253). People like to have their beer-parties under it. *Kuti cakata* means to be topsy-turvy.

Another sacred tree is the *mutarara*, mentioned by Bullock. No one would cut it down, even if growing in the middle of his lands, "on account of its well-known qualities when used in burials. Anybody who did cut it down would get a back-ache for his bad behaviour" (*The Mashona*, p. 253). Its leaves are placed on the grave at the time of burial. When they have withered or fallen with the mound it is considered that there is no further need to watch the grave for the prevention of the "cannibal feasts" of sorcerers (op. cit. p. 268). This custom, however, seems to be unknown among the Karanga in the South.

The *mutarara* tree was in olden times used still in another way, *kupinga musha*, i.e. to protect a village against witches by having *mutarara* pegs, dipped in medicine, driven in all around the village by a medicine man (*Nada* 1945, p. 4). And some people in the Ndanga district, under Chief Nyakunuva Shumba, are not allowed to bring the *mutarara* tree into their village for firewood (op. cit., p. 5).

A medicine man sometimes calls all the people of a kraal where there is a sick person whom he has been asked to doctor, to a tree outside the village, and there the patient is treated. Probably some of the ingredients of the medicine used were taken from that tree, but this has not been confirmed. The medicine man may choose any tree he likes. No worship would take place, but the people are afterwards told that they should not cut down the tree nor any other of its kind for carpentry work or building purposes. Only persons who are suspected to have become ill through the agency of *ngwizi*, i.e. another clan's *midzimu* (spirits of deceased), sent for revenge, are treated under a tree, and this again seems to indicate a connection between ancestor worship and tree cult. (Note: Cf. Genesis 12: 6 and Deuteron. 11: 30, where the word "Moreh" in the English translation stands for an oracular tree,

where the priest or sooth-sayer practised his art out of the spirit of the tree.)

More common than sacred trees in the veld (*bundo*; *kubunda*—swell out, become thick; *bundu*—clump of trees) are those in the village. The holy village tree is found throughout the whole Zambezi Culture province (Baumann, op. cit. p. 142). Only a few instances may be mentioned here. It is known by the Yao in Northern Mozambique, where the wild fig tree is regarded as sacred (Baumaan, p. 230). According to Frazer it is found among the Tumbuka of Nyasaland. There, in the villages, small ancestor temples are built under the wild fig tree, which is called *msoro* (Willoughby: *The Soul of the Bantu* p. 271), the name of the sacred tree having evidently the same root as the Karanga sacred enclosure *mutoro*.

The sacred village tree is also found in the Tonga village in Portuguese East Africa, where the strong influence of Nyamwedzi and Rozwi tribes can be easily proved. Junod calls the Tonga sacred village tree the mythical stem of the village. It must never be cut. On it offerings to the "gods" are hung, "and at its base there is a broken pot which serves as the village altar." The latter may be removed from the tree and placed among the poles (!) at the main entrance to the village (cit. Willoughby, op. cit. p. 270).

Among the Karanga, I have not found any sacred trees in their small villages. But it is reported that Cimera, who is said to have been the founder of the Rozi Sileya chieftainship in the Sebungwe district, and who about 1820 immigrated from Gunu-uhwa, situated somewhere in Portuguese East Africa (Note: Cimera is a descendant of Mutota and his son Sa-Marengo, who was the "brother" of Makati, the first Monomotapa (about 1460).), after he has settled in the Sebungwe district, "decided that no ordinary hut was worthy of his status; he had a large *mupani* tree felled and carried to the site of his new dwelling. This tree was to be the *msemo* or kingpost, . . . and Cimera's hut was built around the sacrificial *msemo*" (*Nada* 1944, p. 31).¹

¹ And up to this day you can often find cactus trees planted around forsaken villages.

The tree cult seems not to have been restricted to wild trees. Early investigators of the 19th century noticed already that trees must have been imported and planted in the area under survey, and particularly around the Zimbabwe ruins (Note : Cf. for planted trees Leviticus 19 : 23 seq.). These trees, however, seem never to have been connected with any cult. But there exists at least one instance where planted trees have been and still are of cultural significance, viz. the *miti micenga*, the grove of white trees in the Karuva cult of the Tavara tribe, in the Darwin district. Sacrificial beer is here offered under a particular tree, and Posselt describing the spot, says : " It may be observed that some of the trees were probably planted, by reason of the regular lines they form ; they are large and undoubtedly old " (*Fact and Fiction*, p. 123 seq.) The Karuva cult is, however, a rain and fertility cult, and though sexual features are found in it, it cannot be regarded as an ancestor cult. (Note : Junod says that it was formerly considered a taboo among the Tonga at the coast to plant foreign trees (op. cit. II, p. 29), but this taboo seems never to have been generally recognized.)

A few words may be added with regard to tree pictures in the *Rhodesian rock paintings*. Frobenius has noticed that a special feature of what he calls the Northern style are landscape pictures. Trees are there frequently met with, and although they have been conventionalized it is in most cases easy to recognize their botanical species (op. cit. p. 303).¹ Yet, with the exception of one or two pictures, none of the paintings can be connected with the tree cult.

From the sacred trees we proceed to the veneration of *sacred groves*.

In the same way as the highgod and creator Dzakomba in the Equatorial Congo stands in some mysterious connection with the virgin forest (Baumann, op. cit., p. 112), so also has Mjari, the ancient creator-highgod among the tribes in S. Rhodesia, a sacred grove, called Bvumira, Mvumira or Mbvumela, and situated in the Matopo hills. In its neighbourhood there are

different caves where Mjari is worshipped. *Mubvume* means in Karanga roar or rumbling, but it is also the name of a tree, and *bvumira* (Ur-Bantu : lûmela) does not only mean to answer or respond in singing ; but its original meaning is rather to be satisfied, to agree, trust, consent. It is a word full of sexual and fertility associations, as a matter of fact Mjari has of late predominantly become a rain and fertility god. He has, however, no connection with ancestor worship.

But let us return to the holy groves. One of the earliest missionaries to the Monomotapa kingdom, the Dominican friar João dos Santos, noticed at the end of the 16th century that the people of the Sofala country dug the graves of their dead relatives " in the forest," and people who had no relatives were when dying carried to the forest and put down near a tree or bush, with some water and millet beside them, " and there " Dos Santos says, " they are left to die and no further heed is taken of them." But he knows also of instances where sick people themselves asked to be carried to the forest and left to die under a bush (*Records*, vol. VII, p. 213 seq.) [Note : This custom perhaps partly explains why up to now no cemeteries have been found in Rhodesia, neither among the ruins nor elsewhere, and McIver comes probably very near the truth when writing : " I doubt whether any cemetery will be found among the Rhodesian ruins. It is very possible that only the chiefs were actually buried" (*Mediaeval Rhodesia*, London 1906, p. 92).] Dos Santos reports also that at Lake Rufumba near the Lupata rapids on the Zambezi " there is a grove called by the Kaffirs Cipanga, thickly wooded with shady wild trees. The Kaffirs who live in the vicinity of that grove bury their dead there, and it is looked upon by all as a very sacred place", not the least because in the lake there were many crocodiles, " and the Kaffirs imagine that the souls of their dead go into these crocodiles and frequent this lake " (*Records*, vol. VII, p. 264s.) (Note : Notice the connection between the deceased, the grove and the lake. It is a good example of the conglomeration of different mythological ideas.)

Another example of a sacred grove is reported

¹ See the trees on reproductions of rock paintings in the Salisbury Museum.

from the Hungwe country. There exists, within 500 yards from the ruins on Sangano hill, "a little forest which is highly venerated by the Waungwe. The exact purpose is not disclosed" (H. A. Wieschhoff: *The Zimbabwe-Monomotapa Culture in South East Africa*, Menasha 1941, p. 74), but it can be inferred that in this grove there are old graves of Hungwe ancestors.

The same feature is related from the Venda. Junod jun. tells us that "the residence of the *Badzimu* is on the hill of the clan or in the dense forest which is generally kept there" "(The Religion of the Bavenda," *S. Afr. J. of Sc.* vol. XVII, 1921), and the Lemba in the Belingwe district are also said to have sacred groves, "in which the priests make offerings to the Supreme Being" (*Nada* 1942, p. 77).

Within the Zimbabwe Culture area trees are also connected with the *origin of man* and procreation. In order to understand this complex of ideas it might be well first to remember a myth which exists among the Pangwe, living to the north of the Ogowe river in West Africa. It relates that when God had created the earth, there grew up a big tree, and when its leaves fell to the ground they became animals, and others which fell into the water, became fishes (Trilles, cit. by Bauman op. cit., p. 227). The Nuer in the Anglo-Egyptian Sudan, the Herero and the Ambo have retained a myth of the origin of man out of a tree, and it can be historically proved that at least the Herero and the Ambo had connections with the people of the Zimbabwe Culture.

The same can be said of the Suto and Ronga. Among these tribes the conception of "God's tree" is also found, and among all of them the chthonic-manistic ideas are strongly developed.

A story told by Subiya in Northern Rhodesia is a combination of the Pangwe myth and the Herero-Ambo traditions. They say that the first people were not created by God, but were "tombés d'un arbre desséché" (Jacottet, cit. Baumann, p. 226). This reminds to a certain degree of the Hausa myth about Djengere or Sal-Ala (*Note*: The spirit Ere or Ala; cf to the name Mwari) who came together with his sister out of a big tree with an enormous cave, after they

had received the sacrifice of a black animal (Frobenius, cit. Baumann, p. 227). (*Note*: Question: Does the name of Njerere (which now in Karanga means the hawk), one of the Rozwi conqueror Shangamire's generals, originate from the spirit Njengere-Salala? Njerere is found as name of one of Mwari's caves in the Matopo; of an impressive granite hill in the Belingwe Reserve near the Masase Mission; and of a river in Transvaal. The river probably got its name in connection with immigration of Leya elements from the North in the 18th century.)

Of still greater interest to us is another Hausa myth telling that the leaf of a cotton tree [*Note*: Among the Ibo the cotton tree (and the water pool!) is the symbol of the chthonic goddess Ale (Baumann, p. 234).] fell on a woman's stomach. When she returned home, she put the leaf under a pot. There it grew to a tree, and finally a young man came out of it (Baumann, p. 227). It is also important to remember that among the Kano Hausa childless people must cohabit under the *Kuka* (Baobab) tree at the spirit Jan-Kuku's sanctuary in order to get children, and that the Kikuyu in Tanganyika believe in the magical power of the leaves of the *mugumu*, the holy fig-tree, to produce fertility (op. cit. p. 233).

After this short survey of the belief in trees as procreators among some African tribes outside Rhodesia we now proceed to examine the relevant material within the Zimbabwe culture area proper.

We notice first that the Zezuru make a symbolical distinction between male and female trees, just as other tribes discriminate male and female mountains [Erythräa, p. 213; cf. for the same idea among the Tevuye in Portuguese East Africa p. 207]. We further notice the different taboos connected with trees, especially among those clans whose totem seems to be or actually is a tree. Roger Howman has collected some interesting material about *mupingo*, which seems to be the magical power possessed by certain objects and animals making them taboo. But sometimes *mupingo* seems to become equivalent to the mutupo or totem, and people refrain from eating it or using it in an ordinary way. So, for instance, Chief Nyakunuva's people of Ndanga do not eat

the ground grape called *musungu-sungu*,—"it is their mupinga." The *murtarara* tree has already been mentioned as not being used for firewood. Neither would the *muxeza* tree be used for that purpose *Nada* (1943, p. 5).

This leads us over to the tree as *mutupo* (totem) or *cidavo* (laudatory name used when approaching a village), and here the close connection between the original Karanga conception of the *mutupo* and the idea of procreation, as pointed out by Bullock and J. G. Roberts ("Totemism and Sexuality," *Nada* 1938), should be kept in mind, as well as the fact that the *cidavo* is often found to be the name of an ancestor.

There might first be mentioned *Vamukute*, which is one of the many praise words of the Ngova tribe (*Nada* 1943, p. 41). *Mukute* is a kind of tree growing near the water. Its leaves are used as medicine. The Ngova are, thus, not only a *dziva* (pool) tribe, i.e. a tribe with one of the most original *mitupo*, which connects it with C. Bullock's "clue totem" and also with the whole complex of *dziva* conceptions found in the emerging Monomotapa culture of the late 15th century as well as in the fundamental conceptions of the Zambezi culture group (H. Baumann: *Völkerkunde von Afrika*, Essen 1940, p. 139 seq.); but this *dziva* tribe furthermore uses as praise word a tree growing near the water or the pool! To him who is acquainted with ancient African symbolism this is an evident indication of the idea of procreation.

And then there is the tree as a Ndaui totem. The Ndaui are living to the East and North of the Sabi river. Ethnically they are the descendants of Tonga tribes, mixed with Ro-wi, Shangwe, Gova and other late immigrants (See further H. Ph. Junod: "Ndaui Demography, Totemism and History," *Bantu Studies*, 1934). Now, a Chopi woman told Miss Dora Eathly that the Ndaui totem is a tree and that its roots were eaten by the first man and woman of the Ndaui tribe. After that the *mutupo* lived within the people and could never die, and so it is handed on from father to son for ever.

On another occasion the same woman said that a man and a woman went with a white piece of

cloth and some mealie meal "to a large lake where there was a very big tree called *mbvuko*. They prayed to the spirits of the lake, and the leaves of the tree fell on the white cloth. The couple went home with them, cooked and ate them together with their food". Evidently the story did not end here, but Miss Eathly seems not to have been told the end ("Some Notes on the Vandau of Sofala" *Bantu Studies* 1930). Yet, its implication can be gathered from other sources. There is for instance a tradition about a young princess sacrificed under a big tree on an anthep (Note: Antheps have always manistic associations) in order to obtain rain. She had first to grow up there in a sacred enclosure to full womanhood and was then strangled and buried between the roots of the tree, whereupon the tree began to grow until its top reached the sky. Its leaves became clouds, rain began to fall, and people and animals and fields recovered after a three years drought (*Erythräa*, p. 205 seq.)

Of still greater interest is a rock painting in the Cirozwane (Silozoane) cave traced by Mrs. E. Goodall of the Queen Victoria Memorial Museum, Salisbury and exhibited at the Bulawayo Museum. It represents a dry tree (cf Jacottet's "arbre desséché") superimposed on a brown animal, with only two leaves in the shape of embryotic human figures of the same type as they are found on other rock paintings, emerging from boulders (see for instance *Erythräa*, p. 306). In front of the tree there stand two adoring human figures, a man and a woman (?), and behind them there is a huge mythical figure, probably some spirit or god. An interesting feature is a string (?) connecting the man and the tree. The birds at the edge of the red covering at the lower part of the picture may belong to an earlier painting and were perhaps originally done in their full shape. On the other hand one has to remember that not only trees but also birds are closely connected with sexual totemism (see W. Schmidt: *Ursprung der Gottesidee*, vol. III, p. 571-586). The picture as a whole is obviously late, the style came to Rhodesia at a later time. Yet, it can hardly be doubted that the picture is an illustration of some ancient African myth about the origin of man out of a

tree or its leaves, just as another rock painting, reproduced by Frobenius, must be regarded as illustrating the myth of Runji drowning himself in a pool (*krythrää*, p. 305). It clearly proves the existence of the tree cult among Rhodesian tribes in early times, and it also offers a clue for the explanation of the origin of the tree as *mutupo*. The leaves represented by the two embryotic figures may also be connected with the idea of twins. These are regarded as rain producing, and the picture together with the Ndau myth suggest a close connection with the Hause myth of the cotton tree. Neither seems it altogether improbable that the spirit behind the couple is Mjari himself, the more so since one of the Hausa clans in Northern Nigeria regards a certain *Mali* tree as the husband of the Aswen group of the Minyam clan (Baumann: *Ursprung*, p. 227). [Note: another rock painting showing a sorcerer engaged in some ceremony around a tree, from the Zimba reserve is in the Salisbury museum.]

A reminiscence of the tree origin of beasts and animals seems to be contained in another story told by the above mentioned Chopi woman, relating of a very great chief called Mafaringani, whose *mutupo* was the *mbvuko* tree. He lived long ago in "Vusapa", which would now be the country between the Sabi river and Beira, but formerly might have been a country situated more to the West. "... he built an enormous house" and reigned over the beasts of pray, particularly over the lions, and this is, the woman concluded, why the Ndau still sacrifice to them at their first fruit festivals! (D. Earthy, op. cit.)

We have now seen that the tree cult existing in the Zimbabwe culture area is connected with the idea of procreation and life. But in African thinking the new life can never be separated from the previously existing life, i.e. from the ancestors, life being one uninterrupted stream. It is therefore only natural to find that the tree cult is to a great extent also connected with the *ancestor cult*. We have already seen that at Sofala as well as on the Zambezi, among the Hungwe as well as among the Venda and Lemba sacred groves with the graves of ancestors are venerated, and only a few

more instances connecting ancestors and trees may be mentioned here.

One of my informants told me that if a person falls ill and the medicine man has found out that the illness is caused by some *ngozi*, i.e. the *mudzimu* of another clan sent to retaliate some wrong, the sick person would be treated under a tree, and in the case of people being possessed by a *shavi* spirit the Karanga use to carve a walking stick, or sometimes a battle axe, giving it to the evil spirit after the man has died, saying: "*Isimbo yako, iwe cirombo*" (This is your walking stick, spirit).

The close connection between the tree and ancestor cults is shown on a picture reproduced on de Fer's map of Africa 1722 (in O. Schilling's: *Das Reich Monomotapa*, Dresden 1892, map XV) The picture shows a tree on which human bones and skulls are hanging in bunches, and some people under the tree worship them. I have not come across any instance where this custom is explicitly mentioned, but the picture with all probability refers to de Barros who states that "*dopo che alcun corpo e mangiato prendono le sue ossa dell' ascendente, o discendente, o della moglie, nellaquale habbero molti figlinoli*" (*Decada da Asia Lisbon* 1628, p. 187, cf *Records*, vol. VI, p. 113). The bones were then marked so as to be recognised by the relatives of the deceased and kept at a special spot, where every seventh day a ceremonial meal was eaten, all participating in it being dressed in white clothes (*Records*, vol. VI, p. 269 seq.)

Johannes Blaev, evidently commenting upon this passage, says: "*Defunctos ibidem magno prosequunt honore, nam cum e cognatis quidam, aut uxor e qua liberi superstites vita excessit, consumpta jam a vernibus carne, ossa asservant Geographiae Blavianaee volumen nonum, quo... Africa continatur*, Amsterdam 1662, p. 131).

A dramatic scene is recorded from the Portuguese campaign against the Roro tribe on the Zambezi in 1624. The priest Emmanuel de Mendonza had accompanied the Portuguese expeditionary force and, at one instance, after an encounter, was wandering about in the forest looking for wounded Africans whom he wanted to baptize before they died. The report runs as

follows: "Comme le Père courait par les forests, cherchant quelq'un a baptizer, il rencontra cinquante personnes qui estoient à l'entour d'un arbre, qu'elles aspergeaient de vin et de farine, arraisonnans ainsi les morts: Vous avez finy vos jours valeureusement, vous en avez emporté la gloire: nous vous honorons en tiltre de valeureux combatans, et vous supplions d'affection, de ne nous faire ne bien ne mal: car il nous reste encore un grand chemin à faire; à ce sujet nous ofrons et laissons icy dequoy manger et boire" (Seb. Barreto: *Lettres de la Province de Goa* 1624, French transl, Paris 1628, p. 429). [Note: The same custom is recorded from the Djagga (Efr. Andersson: *Religion och magi hog Afrikas naturfolk*, Mariestad 1936, p. 91) and from some Congo tribes (op. cit., p. 87), and Junod jun. tells us that the Venda used to unearth the bones of their dead after some years and to carry them to the sacred tribal hill, *S. Afr. Journ. of Sc.* 1921, p. 211].

Still further carries us the custom of burying the dead in trees. It is practically known throughout Africa (Baumann: *Schöpfung*, p. 235), but Frobenius mentions it also explicitly in connection with the Duma in the Gutu district in S. Rhodesia. This tribe buries their dead chiefs on a stage made of poles and trunks in a hut, the corpse being carefully wrapped and tied up (see *Erythräa*, Plates, p. 12). No doubt, the custom reflects the thought that human life emerges out of the tree and returns there to be reborn again in a new generation. It is the African conception of Life Eternal.

The tree cult as a Life cult throws new light on some other cultural objects in the mythological thinking of the Bantu, viz. the pole, the drum, the sceptre and the *hakata* (divinatory sticks). The mythical attributions of all these articles can only be understood in connection with the more original tree cult.

The pole has always been regarded and explained as a phallic emblem, and there is, of course, much that speaks for such an interpretation. Yet, there is reason to ask, whether the reverse deduction (pole—phallus) does not come nearer the original conception of primitive man. The pole

is or represents the tree, the mythical origin of Life, and the connection with the phallus seems rather to be a secondary feature. The truth is probably that the mythological conception of the pole has been influenced from both sides, i.e. from that of the tree cult as well as from the phallus as the source of life.

Frobenius has proved (see for instance "*Masken und Geheimbünde Afrikas*") that the pole is closely connected with ancestor worship, and the roughly carved stick or pole is the first attempt to represent the human body in plastic art. On the other side, the human body takes the form of a roughly carved stick just among those tribes where manistic chthonical ideas are strongly developed (*Schöpfung*, p. 234).

But if this is the actual state of the thing, then the pole in the circumcision camps of the Venda, Lemba, Cwana etc. has with all probability nothing to do with the phallus, but must be regarded as symbolizing the presence of the ancestors.

In the Monomotapa kingdom one of the four main provinces was called Sabia or *Sedanda*, the latter name being the title of the chiefs ruling over it. We have already seen that *danda* in Karanga means a pole or a stick, and accordingly, Bothelo explains the name in the following way: "*O Rei chama se Sadanha que quer dizer Gãõ Senhor de selvas, matas, e madeiras*" (Seb. Xav. Bothelo: *Memoria estaiística . . Lisboa* 1835, p. 173). This explanation might give the impression as if there were in Sedanda's country exceptionally many forests and woods. Yet, it is rather improbable that he derived his dynastic name from that fact. It seems more likely that the name contains an allusion to the ancient tree and grove cult, combined with ancestor worship and practised by the tribe. (Note: Still more probable is the connection with Sitanda or Nehanda, i.e. Venus, according to ancient Nyamwedzi mythology the Moon's second wife (See Harald v. Sicard: *Drei grundlegende Wörter der syderethräischen Kultur, Anthropos* vol, 1941/42, ed 1943).)

The mythological conception of the drum must also be connected with the tree and ancestor cult (See H. v. Sicard: *The ancient East-African*

Drum, Ethnos, Stockholm 1942). The original drum is a hollowed out trunk with a parchment of skin. But having the capacity to sound or to "cry", as mythological thinking would put it, it comes still nearer the human being than the tree does. There are drums the names of which directly point to their trunk origin, for instance the *mutanda* drum, made of a very long log, with legs. But this drum is not beaten in connection with spirit worship and people don't get possessed when it is beaten. Then there is the *cidanda* or *mutigwadi* drum, long and broad, and this is used in connection with spirit worship,— *inoswikira*, i.e. people get possessed when it is beaten. Among the Ndaus there is a drum called *danda*; it is a high and rather thin drum, with two little handles on the sides (H. Ph. Junod: "Ndau demography," *Bantu Studies* 1934, p. 20).

All these names are, of course derived from the word *danda*.

The Manyika know of male and female drums (*Erythräa*, p. 207 seq.), just as they speak of male and female trees, and some of their drums are connected with fertility, sexual life and birth.

And then there is the sacred Rozwi drum *Civundika*, which was almost regarded and treated as a human being. It moved by rolling or crawling of its own volition, it was a famous hunter and would supply people with meat. Its parchment was made of human skin and it was usually drummed through the agency of spirits, and lived on a platform on a *msiga* tree, just east of the Bare Saet Pan (*Nada* 1944, p. 32). Though it is said to have disappeared first in Lobengula's time, it is with all probability the same mythical drum as the one referred to in connection with Chief Sileya's expedition against the Shangwe which must have taken place at the beginning of the 18th century (cf. *Nada* 1924, p. 77, and 1927, p. 65 seq.). Sileya before starting on his expedition prayed to the ancestors, and the drum must have been regarded by his army as sent by them. The story of this drum proves beyond doubt the close connection between the drum, the tree and the ancestor worship.

A further line of development leads to the universally known *sceptre*, the prerogative of

royalty. And since, according to African belief, the essence of tribal life is concentrated in the person of the king or chief, it is only natural to find that the staff or the stick is the emblem of his power.

Finally, the *hakata* or *majeketa*, the divinatory sticks or dice of the Karanga, fall into the same group of mythical objects. The custom of divining by throwing sticks is very ancient. It is mentioned as early as about 750 B.C. by the prophet Hosea, who says: "My people ask counsel at their stocks, and their staff declareth unto them: for the spirit of whoredoms has caused them to err. . . They sacrifice. . . under oaks and poplars and elms. . . Therefore your daughters shall commit whoredom, and your spouses shall commit adultery." (Hos. IV, v. 12, 13) Divinatory sticks, trees and sexual life were evidently in one way or another interwoven for Hosea!

In the Zimbabwe culture area the divining sticks are to my knowledge first mentioned in connection with the death of pater Gonçalo de Sylveira 1561 in Godigno's biography of the Saint. He writes: *Quatuor ergo sudibus in medium allatis, et varia huc et illuc superstitione motis, sortes ducunt* in order to discover the father's guilt *Vita Patris Gonzali, Colonia Agrippina 1616*, p. 114).

It is generally known that the four *hakata* represent man and woman, and the male and female attributes, or, to put it in another way, the essence of man and woman. The *hakata* appear to have sexual significance. But this should not be confused with sexuality, it rather reflects a sexual trait in mentality (cf. *Nada* 1934, p. 23-26; 1929, p. 40 seq.), which seems to be unavoidable in a manistic-chthonically coloured culture. [Note: The names of the four dice are in this connection of less importance, but it should be noticed that a comparison of Junod (vol. II, p. 603), Stayt (p. 285) and *Nada* shows differences and confusions with regard to them among the Karanga, Venda and Pedi; cf. further E. G. Howman: "The traditional history and customs of the Makaranga (Warozwi)", *S. Afr. J. S.*, vol. XV No. 6, 1918, p. 390s. G. Caton Thompson: *The Zimbabwe Culture*, p. 254 seq. and Schöpfung, p. 18).]

The name *hakata* is first mentioned by Dos Santos (about 1600). He calls them *chakata*, and this form reminds us of the *jakata* or *mu-cakata* tree mentioned before (see p. 259). We remember that in connection with it there exist different taboos and that *kuti cakata* means to be topsyturvy, just as the *hakata* dice are when they are thrown.

Two different sources must be admitted for the tree cult in the Zimbabwe culture area. The first one is African: there is no doubt that Nilotic tribes migrating to the South carried with them Sudanese religious conceptions and mythological ideas as far as South Africa, and among these also the cult of trees, poles etc., which is more developed in the Sudan than elsewhere on the continent (Schöpfung, p. 68). The second source is Indian or Indonesian. Indian influences can be traced on the African East coast at a very early date, and though one is inclined to take with some reservation Rossiter's assertion that according to Indian scholars "a vast migration of Indian people" took place to East Africa about 1000 B.C. (*Proc. Rhod. Sc. Ass.*, vol. XXXVI, p. 99), G. Ferrand in his more reliable research work has arrived at the conclusion that at least Madagascar was colonized about the beginning of our era "par des Indonésiens occidentaux hindouisés" (G. Ferrand: "*Le Kouen-Louen et les anciennes naviga-*

tions interocéaniques dans des Mers du Sud", *Extrait du Journal Asiatique* (1919), Paris 1919 p. 226). It is only natural to assume that this people also reached the African coast opposite Madagascar, where they left traces of their culture. Early Indian influences can also be traced along the whole East African coast. From there they penetrated into the interior and there amalgamated with mythological ideas of the African culture, being one of the constituents of the Greater Erythrean Culture which to a certain degree united all peoples living in the countries adjoining the Indian Ocean. Especially with regard to the Rhodesian tree cult there is every reason to assume Indian influences, combined and intermingled with those from the Sudan and the district of the Great Lakes.

Summing up the results we have arrived at we would state that the tree cult in Rhodesia as in other parts of Africa is a phenomenon of a manistic-chthonic religion. The tree is regarded as the origin of human life. The dead must therefore return to it. The tree cult is definitely connected with ancestor worship, with the idea of fertility and procreation, and there seem even to be some slight indications of the idea of regeneration. The mythological conception of the pole, the drum, the sceptre and the *hakata* are derived from the original tree cult.

CONTRIBUTORS TO THIS NUMBER

N. J. BROOKE is a judge of the High Court in Nigeria.

P. G. HARRIS (the late), Senior Resident Commissioner, Nigeria.

REV. ROLAND ALLEN of Nairobi is the author of the well-known *Missionary Methods, St. Paul's or Ours*, and *Educational Principles and Missionary Methods*, published over 30

years ago. He was a missionary in China and has travelled widely in India and Canada.

J. ROBIN.

THE REV. H. VON SICARD, for many years a missionary of the Swedish Mission at Masasi, Southern Rhodesia.
